

# ANATOLIAN STUDIES

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in honour of the seventieth birthday of

PROFESSOR O. R. GURNEY

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## NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

The titles of books and periodicals should be written in italics (in typing, *underlined*), the titles of articles in periodicals in Roman letters between quotation marks.

REFERENCES : The volume and date of a periodical and the publication date of a book should both be cited in the first reference to it. The number of a volume in a series should be written in capital Roman numerals.

TRANSCRIPTION : *Modern Turkish* place and personal names should always be written in the current Turkish orthography. In typing, the dotless *i* should be represented by *I* in the body of a word.

GREEK NAMES which have become established in English usage should be given in the familiar English form (e.g., Ptolemy). Greek proper names which have recognized Latin transliterations should be given in the latter form (e.g. Bœotia, not Boiotia). Otherwise the Greek form should be used in referring to the Greek period of occupation of places which were later Romanized (e.g. Taras ; later Tarentum).

### ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

| at the beginning of word omit ; hamza elsewhere \*

ب <i>b</i>	س <i>s</i>	ق <i>q</i>
ت <i>t</i>	ش <i>š</i>	ك <i>k</i>
ث <i>th</i>	ص <i>ṣ</i>	ل <i>l</i>
ج <i>j</i>	ض <i>ḍ</i>	م <i>m</i>
ح <i>ḥ</i>	ط <i>t</i>	ن <i>n</i>
خ <i>ḫ</i>	ظ <i>ẓ</i>	و <i>w or v</i>
د <i>d</i>	ع <i>‘</i>	ه <i>h</i>
ذ <i>dh</i>	غ <i>gh</i>	ة <i>t or ḥ</i>
ر <i>r</i>	ف <i>f</i>	ي <i>y</i>
ز <i>z</i>		

vowels *a, i, u*

lengthened *ā, ī, ū*

diphthongs *ay* and *aw* or *ai* and *au* respectively.

ILLUSTRATIONS: All line drawings, including maps, will appear as "Figures," numbered consecutively in Arabic numerals for each article. Photographs reproduced as halftones will appear as "Plates," numbered in capital Roman numerals throughout the volume.

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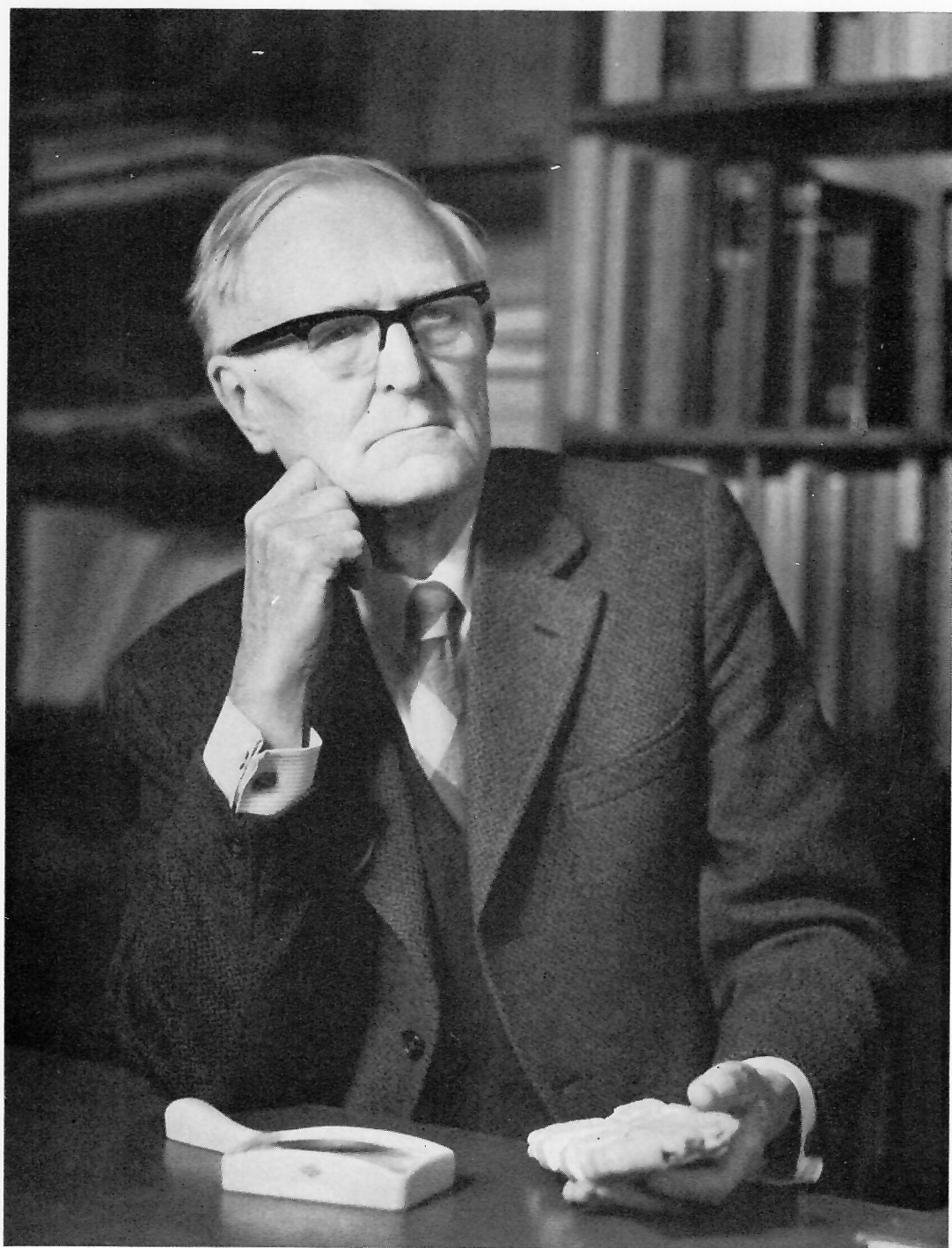
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In honour of  
Professor  
OLIVER ROBERT GURNEY, M.A., D.Phil., F.B.A.

Following the suggestions of numerous friends and colleagues, it was decided that the thirtieth volume of *Anatolian Studies* should be dedicated as a personal tribute to Professor Oliver Robert Gurney, whose seventieth birthday falls on 21st January, 1981. As a founder member of our Council, afterwards charged with the sometimes onerous duty of editing this journal, Oliver Gurney has served the Institute for three decades, assisting in its administration and, in his capacity as a distinguished philologist, contributing frequently to the records of its major enterprises.

Unlike some of his less fortunate contemporaries, Oliver's professional aspirations seem to have crystallized at a remarkably early age. It was observed by an Oxford scholar of an earlier generation that potential historians – “tend to be attracted by the civilization of some other time or people, appearing to possess the qualities which they themselves most value and to be lacking in those which they most dislike”. Whether or not Oliver's initial interest in the Hittites of Anatolia can partially be explained in this way, it seems certain that it must also have been stimulated by the affection and encouragement of his uncle, Professor John Garstang – already at that time an eminent “Hittitologist”. It must however also be remembered that in 1933, when Oliver's time at New College ended, the path to any kind of archaeological qualification was one which few had till then followed. Advice was needed, and in the end it was Professor Stephen Langdon, the excavator of Kish, who assisted by offering a provisional grounding in cuneiform studies. Further specialisation was not at that time available in this country and Oliver's determination to study the Hittite language brought him eventually to Berlin, where for a time he worked under Professor Hans Ehelolf. In Berlin, the circle of like-minded foreign students among whom he found himself included H. Otten, S. Alp and E. Akurgal: all now eminent archaeologists, sharing as they still do the impeccable scholarship imbibed from the same source. Today, they have taken their place in the cosmopolitan fraternity of specialists, so well represented among the contributors to this volume.

Oliver's military service began in November 1939. Five months later he was commissioned in the Royal Artillery and posted to the Sudan Defence Force on Christmas Day 1940. He served throughout the campaigns in Eritrea and Abyssinia, returning to England in 1945. Before the war, he had entered for a D.Phil. at Oxford, choosing a Hittite subject, and obtained his doctorate in 1939. Now, while still in the army, he was offered and accepted the post of Shillito Reader in Assyriology. Promoted to Professor by decree in 1965, he retained this title until his retirement in 1978.

A particular interest shared between Oliver Gurney and his uncle John Garstang was in the subject of Hittite geography and, as early as 1936, plans had been made between them for a comprehensive treatise on such matters, based on all the available textual evidence. Garstang's travels in the Hittite country itself and in Turkey generally had already of course been extensive. Oliver till then had little experience in this respect, and when, in 1938, Garstang's second season of excavations at Mersin in western Cilicia was being planned, he welcomed his uncle's invitation to join the staff and thereby to obtain some knowledge of field archaeology. (One remembers that other collaborators in that most successful



excavation included Dr. R. D. Barnett from the British Museum and, from Cambridge, the late Professor and Mrs. Miles Burkitt.) On this occasion, in addition to travelling in other parts of Turkey, Oliver took the opportunity of attending lectures by Professors Güterbock and Landsberger at Ankara University.

Once out of the army, further opportunities of travel presented themselves. In 1946–47 there was a further season of digging at Mersin. Garstang's finds there were of course for the main part related to the prehistoric period, and it was not until 1952 that Oliver was enabled, during the present writer's excavations at Sultan Tepe, to take a hand in discoveries more relevant to his own subject. It was in that year that a small Assyrian library came to light, whose contents he was able to recognise. The six hundred-or-so tablets were unbaked and consequently in a fragile condition. Oliver's help in removing them was invaluable, since priority could be given to the more important items. Among copies of better known literary works, he was rewarded by identifying the full text of a completely new allegorical and humorous story, now known as *The Poor Man of Nippur*, which he later had the privilege of publishing.

In 1953, Garstang found himself once more in a position to resume work (aided both by Oliver and by his own sister Mrs R. Gurney) on the preparation of their long-promised book on historical geography. During 1956, after renewed travel and study, the text was up-dated and largely re-written. Unhappily Garstang did not live to see its publication in 1959 under the title *The Geography of the Hittite Empire*.

In the meanwhile, Oliver's own classic work on the Hittites, first published by Penguin Books in 1952, had established for him a reputation soon leading to his recognition as a leading authority on the subject. Since then, books and articles culminating in the publication of his Schweich Lectures for 1976, *Some Aspects of Hittite Religion*, have confirmed this distinction. Also, the importance of his contribution to historical and philological studies is today enhanced by the legacy of erudition and academic accomplishment so conspicuous among his sometime students. Their names, as he would have wished, are well represented among the contributors to this composite work, and to one, Mr. James Macquoen, we are indebted for its voluntary editorship.

S. L.

## THE DEATH OF DUMUZI: A NEW SUMERIAN VERSION

By SAMUEL NOAH KRAMER

As of today there are several variant versions of the myth relating to the death of Dumuzi, the more important of which are: "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World",<sup>1</sup> "Dumuzi's Dream",<sup>2</sup> "Dumuzi and the *galla*."<sup>3</sup> The text here edited, inscribed on a hitherto unpublished tablet, BM 100046, consists of an account of Dumuzi's death that parallels to some extent the hitherto known versions, but includes a number of rather unusual themes and intriguing motifs not found in any of them.<sup>4</sup> It is a pleasure and a privilege to dedicate this study to Oliver Gurney with whom I collaborated in preparing a volume of Sumerian literary texts in the Ashmolean Museum (*OECT* V), and who moreover published in the year 1962 an exemplary summary of what was then known about Dumuzi and his tragic death.<sup>5</sup>

The new version of the death of Dumuzi is composed of four sections. The first (lines 1–19) is in the form of an Emesal address by some individual to Dumuzi consisting of such exclamatory questions as: why does he walk about with covered head while his ewes and their lambs, his she-goats and their kids, as well as his holy little donkey-mares have been seized and carried off, and his holy churn lies shattered; why do his large kids lie prostrate in the sheep-pen and why do his small kids shed bitter tears in the feeding-pen; why do the motherless lambs cry bitterly as they wander aimlessly about, while his weeping little sister utters supplications in their midst. His dog, continues the address, is uttering bitter cries in the desolate steppe; his spouse, holy Inanna, is weeping bitterly in the Eanna; his noble sister Geštinanna is rending her sinews and plucking out her hair at the gate of Lugalbanda and the boulevard of Ninsun.<sup>6</sup>

In the second section, written in Emegir (lines 20–43), Dumuzi is depicted weeping "at the meaning of the fate decreed (for him)."<sup>7</sup> and complaining that he had been singled out for misfortune after he had walked among men;<sup>8</sup> that all the calamities enumerated in the

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. now W. R. Sladek's very useful dissertation based almost entirely on my earlier researches and publications. Note, too, that *UET* VI No. 11 is a variant version of the second half of the myth that seems to end in *medias res*, and was probably continued on another tablet.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. now B. Alster's important monograph, *Dumuzi's Dream*, based largely on contributions by Falkenstein, Jacobsen, Van Dijk, and Kramer.

<sup>3</sup> The text is still untranslated in large part; for partial translations cf. Kramer, *The Sacred Marriage Rite*, pp. 127–130; Jacobsen, *Treasures of Darkness*, pp. 49–52; Alster, *Dumuzi's Dream*, p. 116. Note especially that the crucial concluding passage of the composition has been misunderstood to some extent in both *The Sacred Marriage Rite* and *Treasures of Darkness* (cf. my forthcoming study in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*).

<sup>4</sup> Though the text is well preserved and almost complete, its translation and interpretation are difficult and problematic, and the present study is a pioneering effort to be corrected and amended by scholars with deeper linguistic and philological insights.

<sup>5</sup> "Tammuz Reconsidered; Some Recent Developments" (*Journal of Semitic Studies* 7: 147–160).

<sup>6</sup> The fact that the poet envisaged Geštinanna as weeping for Dumuzi in localities named after Lugalbanda and Ninsun, localities which may have existed only in his imagination, indicates that the myth was composed during the Third Dynasty of Ur, when these two deities were deemed to be the parents of the king who was Dumuzi incarnate.

<sup>7</sup> That is, *ša-nam-tar-ra-ka* which may of course also be rendered "in the midst of the fate decreeing". In any case, it is to be noted that the "fate decreeing" motif appears rather abruptly and unexpectedly. It may be of course that Dumuzi's fate is adumbrated and foreshadowed in the address to Dumuzi that constitutes the first section of the composition, but it is also possible that our text is part of a Dumuzi myth of some length inscribed on more than one tablet.

<sup>8</sup> The significance of this statement, assuming the rendering is correct, is not clear; on the surface it seems to imply that Dumuzi was a god who for some unstated reason had decided to mingle with mortal men. In "Dumuzi's Dream" on the other hand, Dumuzi claims that he is the husband of a goddess (line 206), and the implication is that he was a mortal who became a god as a result of his marriage to Inanna.



speech addressed to him had indeed come upon him; that his spouse Inanna was indeed weeping for him in the Eanna, and that his sister was indeed lacerating her body racked with agony. Moreover, continues Dumuzi, he actually sees himself sliding into the grave that stands before him "like a big door," and from which he cannot rise while the cruel rain-pouring wind and the tempest maim and ravage him.<sup>9</sup>

The third section, written mainly in Emesal, consists of two parts. The first (lines 44–50), describes Dumuzi's seizure by the galla:<sup>10</sup> they surround him, torment him with thirst, hold on to his side, bind his hands that had been soiled in dung, seize him by his thighs as he is proudly seated, remove his crushed cover from his holy churn. The second part of the section (lines 51–59) begins with two lines that provide the reason for Dumuzi's death: his spouse Inanna had died and he was to take her place in the Nether World. Then follow seven lines, each ending with the refrain *giš-búr-ra ba-an-dib* ("he was held fast by the *gišbur*-trap"), that depict the wretchedness of the Nether World:<sup>11</sup> there was food there but it was not edible; there was water there but it was not drinkable; it was a place where Namtar dwelt, where arts and crafts were unknown, where lips were covered with blood.

The fourth section, also written in the Emesal,<sup>12</sup> introduces a number of themes and motifs relating to sorcery, witchcraft, and burial rites, that are altogether new to the Dumuzi myth as known hitherto.<sup>13</sup> The section consists of two parts. In the first (lines 60–74) we are introduced to seven *arali*-sorcerers who seem to be able to work magic with the *huhuppu*-tree, and who are expert in the witchcraft relating to the *gu-bad-DU*<sup>14</sup> which they stretch out in heaven and on earth, and within which the shepherd brings his sheep secretly. In the second part of the section (lines 75–87), we find a witchcraft-practising shepherd who had dug a hole in the ground and had broken a jug of wine in the *edin* which was being churned like milk; also a young maid who "made an ornament" there, and a young bride who brought bitumen there; the *mes*-tree brought something (the relevant signs are destroyed) there, and the *asal*-tree whose fruit had perished stretched its shade there. All this seems to be preparatory to the burial of the shepherd with his dog which is probably depicted in the last four lines of the composition that read:

At the side of the corpse the dog lay,  
In his hut the raven [dwelt],  
The dog ate by (his) side, [lay] at his feet,  
The raven ate by (his) side, ascended to heaven.

<sup>9</sup> Lines 40–43 certainly seem to say that Dumuzi had some foresight and foretaste of his death and burial, but there is nothing in the text to indicate how this came about.

<sup>10</sup> The appearance of the *galla* on the scene is rather abrupt and unanticipated; there is nothing in the preceding passage to prepare us for their advent, and this again may indicate that our text consists of the conclusion of a myth inscribed on more than one tablet (cf. note 7).

<sup>11</sup> Actually it is not the Nether World as a whole that seems to be depicted, but only the *èš-lam* of Ereškigal. The meaning of *èš-lam* is quite uncertain, perhaps it means "the *lam*-shrine," *lam* being a rare word for "Nether World" (cf. *CAD* sub *lammu*, and note that the *lam* of "*mes-lam-ta-è-a*" may also refer to the Nether World).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *e-zé* (for *udu*) in line 73, *me-ri* (for *gír*) in lines 74 and 86, and *mu-tin* (for *geštin*) in line 76 but note the Emegir *lú-sipad* in line 75 (and perhaps *sipad* in line 72).

<sup>13</sup> Unfortunately as the commentary to this section notes, much of it is incomprehensible and the summary sketch of its contents here presented is far from assured.

<sup>14</sup> The literal rendering of *gu-bad-DU* may of course be "the separating thread" or "the distant thread," but neither meaning helps to clarify the witchcraft involved.

*Transliteration*<sup>15</sup>

1. [e-na ba-LU]-LU e-ne ba-LU-LU sag túg a-[na-aš bí-in-dul]
2. [za-e sipad-me-en] e-ne ba-[LU-LU]
3. [u<sub>8</sub>-zu ì-dífb sila<sub>4</sub>-zu ì-rig<sub>7</sub>] e-ne ba-LU-LU
4. [ùz-zu ì-dífb máš-zu ì-rig<sub>7</sub>] e-ne ba-LU-LU
5. [eme<sub>x</sub>-tur-kù-zu i-im-da-dífb] e-ne ba-LU-LU
6. [dukšakir-kù-zu líl-e ì]-sig-ge sag túg a-na-aš bí-in-dul
7. máš-gal-gal-[zu é]-e-zé-ka gú ki a-na-aš ì-ma-al
8. máš-tur-tur-zu é-ubara<sup>16</sup>-ka ír-gig ì-[še<sub>8</sub>]
9. sila<sub>4</sub>-ama-nu-tuku-zu úr-bal-bàd-da-ka gù gig-bi im-[me]
10. nin<sub>9</sub>-bàn-da-ír-ra-tuku-a-zu šà-bi šà-ne-ša<sub>4</sub> a-na-aš ba-gá-gá
11. ur-zu edin-líl-lá gù gig-bi im-me
12. nitalam-zu kù-ga-ša-an-na-ke<sub>4</sub>
13. é-an-ta-ki-a-gub-ba-na ír-gig ì-še<sub>8</sub>-še<sub>8</sub>
14. nin<sub>9</sub>-e-zu <sup>d</sup>mu-tin-an-na-ke<sub>4</sub>
15. ká-ù-mu-un-bàn-da-ke<sub>4</sub>
16. sila-da-ma-al-la-ga-ša-an-sun-na-ke<sub>4</sub>
17. sa-ì-sur-ra-ni im-sur-re síg-ni im-zé-e
18. sa-ì-bu-ra-ni im-bu-re síg-ni im-zé-e
19. síg-ni ú-šu-mu-búr šu mu-un-dúb-dúb-bé
20. guruš-e šà-nam-tar-ra-ka ír im-ma-ni-in-pàd
21. <sup>d</sup>dumu-zi-dè šà-nam-tar-ra-ka ír im-ma-ni-in-pàd
22. mà-e sipad-me-en lú-da ba-an-da-gen<sup>17</sup>-ne-ta dili a-na mu-un-ag
23. u<sub>8</sub>-mu h́é-dífb sila<sub>4</sub>-mu h́é-rig<sub>7</sub> dili a-na mu-un-a[g]
24. ùz-mu h́é-dífb máš-mu h́é-rig<sub>7</sub> dili a-ma mu-un-a[g]
25. eme<sub>x</sub>-tur-kù-mu h́é-im-da-dífb dili a-na mu-un-[ag]
26. dukšakir-kù-mu líl-e h́é-sig-ge dili a-na mu-un-[ag]
27. máš-gal-gal-mu é-udu-ka gú ki hu-mu-ni-[gál]
28. máš-tur-tur-mu é-ubur-ra ír-gig h́é-še<sub>8</sub>-[še<sub>8</sub>]
29. sila<sub>4</sub>-ama-nu-tuku-mu úr-bal-bàd-da-ka gù gig-bi h́[é-im-me]
30. nin<sub>9</sub>-bàn-da-ír-re-tuku-a-mu šà-bi šà-ne-ša<sub>4</sub> h́é-en-g[á-gá]
31. ur-mu edin-líl-la gù gig-bi h́é-im-[me]
32. nitalam-mu kù-<sup>d</sup>inanna-ke<sub>4</sub>
33. é-an-ta-ki-a-gub-ba-na ír-gig h́é-še<sub>8</sub>-š[e<sub>8</sub>]
34. nin<sub>9</sub>-e-mu <sup>d</sup>geštín-an-na-ke<sub>4</sub>
35. ká-<sup>d</sup>ugal-bàn-da-ke<sub>4</sub>
36. sila-dagal-la-<sup>d</sup>nin-sun-na-ke<sub>4</sub>
37. sa-ni h́é-sur-re síg-ni h́e-im-zé-e
38. sa-níg-bu-ra-ni h́é-sur-re síg-ni h́e-im-zé-e
39. síg-ni numùn-búr-gim šu h́é-im-dùb-dùb-b[é]
40. kur-ki-in-dar-ra-mà gír-mà ba-an-zé-ir ur<sub>5</sub> nu-mu-un-da-[e<sub>11</sub>]
41. unu-gal ig-gal-àm igi-mà ba-an-gub<sup>18</sup> ur<sub>5</sub> nu-mu-un-da-[e<sub>11</sub>]
42. im-h́ul-šèg-gá me-ri-mà ba-an-zé-ir ur<sub>5</sub> nu-mu-un-da-[e<sub>11</sub>]
43. im-ul<sub>6</sub>-lu bal(!)-ri-a im-ma-da-lah<sub>4</sub><sup>19</sup> ur<sub>5</sub> nu-mu-un-da-e<sub>11</sub>

<sup>15</sup> In the transliteration, three dots stand for two missing signs, four dots for three or more missing signs.

<sup>16</sup> The sign is glossed *ù-bu-ra*.

<sup>17</sup> The sign *DU* (read *gen*) is glossed by the sign *MI*.

<sup>18</sup> The sign *DU* (read *gub*) is glossed by the sign *GU*.

<sup>19</sup> Between and under *lah<sub>4</sub>* and *ur<sub>5</sub>* is an illegible gloss (perhaps *la-ah?*).



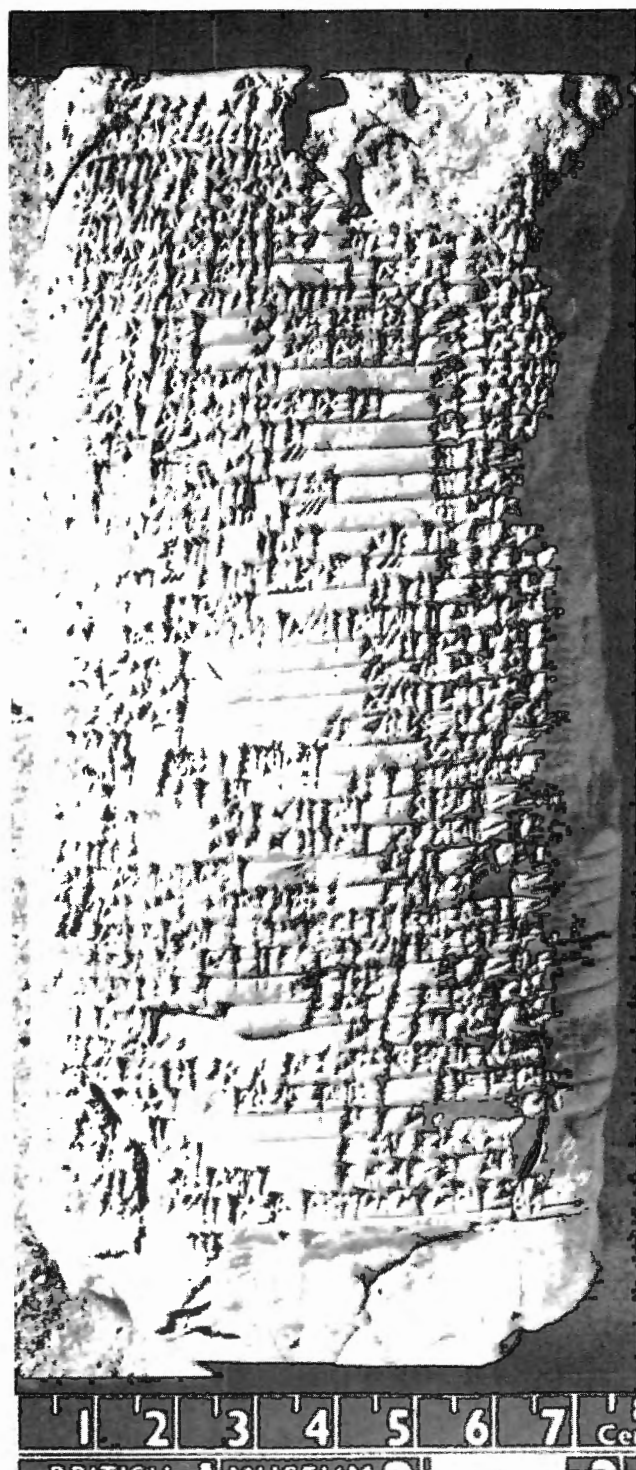
44. gal[la]-gu-la ba-nigin-ne-eš a-nigín-na ba-an-ni-<du<sub>8</sub>>-us
45. [galla-tur] ba-an-nigin-ne-eš a-nigín-na ba-an-ni-<du<sub>8</sub>>-us
46. . . . ba-an- . . .
47. galla gi-nigín-šukur-nu-me-a [zag-ga-na ba-an-díb-bé-eš]
48. šu-ni-šurim(?) -ma(?) -du<sub>8</sub>-du<sub>8</sub>-a[ba(!?) -an-dù-uš]
49. maḥ-a-dúr-a ba-gar-ra-àm[ḥaš<sub>4</sub>-a-na i-im-díb-bé-eš]
50. duk-šakír-kù-ga TUN-pad-pad-da-ni [ba-ra-bad-du-uš]
51. [u<sub>4</sub>]-bi-a ga-ša-an-e nu-un-ti kur-[nu-gi<sub>4</sub>-a-šè] ki-bi-[gar-na mu-un-sì]
52. dam-ušum-gal-an-na-ka mu-un-ti ki-bi-gar-na mu-un-[sì]
53. <sup>d</sup>dumu-zi-dè èš-lam-šè giš-búr-ra ba-an-d[díb]
54. èš-lam-šè ga-ša-an-ki-gal-la-a-šè giš-búr-ra ba-an-[díb]
55. ú-bi i-ma-al nu-kú-ù-dè giš-búr-ra [ba-an-díb]
56. a-bi i-ma-al nu-nag-nag-dè giš-búr-ra [ba-an-díb]
57. ki-nam-tar-ra-durun-na-šè giš-bur-ra [ba-an-díb]
58. nam-galam-ma ba-da-ab-ku<sub>6</sub>-lam-ma-šè giš-búr-ra [ba-an-díb]
59. šu-um-du-um-urí-na-šú-a-šè giš-bur-[ra ba-an-díb]
60. u<sub>4</sub>-[bi]-a imin hé-na-me-eš imin hé-na-[me-es]
61. [e-ne-ne]uš<sub>x</sub>-zu-a-[ra]-li imin hé-na-[me-eš]
62. [uš<sub>x</sub>-zu]-a-ra-li hé-en-na-me-eš imin-na ḥ[é-en-na-me-eš]
63. . . . -kar(?) sa-àm-me šu ḡšḥa-lu-ub<sub>4</sub>-a[g-me-eš]
64. ?-?-sír-re-me-eš ḡšḥa-lu-ub<sub>4</sub>-ag-me-eš imin hé-na-[me-eš]
65. šeš-nu-zu nin<sub>9</sub>-nu-zu ad-gal-u<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>6</sub>-ga
66. e-ne-ne-ne an-na uš<sub>x</sub> mu-un-zu ki-a uš<sub>x</sub> mu-un-[zu]
67. an-na gu-bad-ḌU mu-un-na-lá-e-ne
68. ?-?-?-an-na im-mi-in-bal-e-ne
69. ki-a gu-bad-ḌU mu-un-na lá-e-ne
70. ?-?-ki-a im-mi-in-gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>-ne
71. más-ùz-da u<sub>8</sub>-gim dūr-ru-na bí-in-?-?
72. sipad(?) -dè hé-me-LU hé-me-LU zi-zi-dè(?)
73. gu-bad-ḌU-a na-me nu-un-zu e-zé-ni ba-ni-i[in-ku<sub>4</sub>]
74. ki-tuš-a-ni bala nu-un-zu me-ri-ni za-ra-RI- . . .
75. lú-sipad-dè uš<sub>x</sub>-dug<sub>4</sub>-dug<sub>4</sub> ki-a ba-e-dar
76. edin-na duk-mu-tin-na ba-e-gaz edin ga-gim i-ḥur
77. bur<sub>6</sub>mušen-bur<sub>6</sub>mušen-e edin-na mu-un-ḥur edin ga-gim i-ḥur
78. ù-bur<sub>6</sub>mušen ḡšḥašḥur-nu-me-a edin-na mu-un-ḥur edin ga-gim i-ḥur
79. ù-ki-sikil-tur-re suḥ-<sup>20</sup>kèš ba-ni-in-ag
80. ù-e-gi<sub>4</sub>a-[tur-r]e esir ba-ni-ib-ku<sub>4</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub>
81. ḡšmeš-gi-bala . . . ba-ni-ib-ku<sub>4</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub>
82. ḡšasal il-lu-ur-bi ba-ab-gul-la gizzu-bi ba-ni-ib-[lá]
83. ? ? ? -gim su<sub>11</sub>-lum-dilmun<sup>kl</sup>-gim túg-gim ba-e-dul
84. adda-da-ni-a ur ba-[e]-ná
85. gá-rig<sub>7</sub>-ga-na uga mušen[ba-e-tuš]
86. ur mu-un-da-ab-kú me-ri-ne-šè ba-[e-ná]
87. uga mušenmu-un-da-ab-kú an-na ba-e-e<sub>11</sub>

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<sup>20</sup> Preceding *suḥ* is an illegible sign.



BM 100046: obverse.



BM 100046: reverse.



*Translation*<sup>21</sup>

1. [How you walk about!] How you walk about! [Why have you covered (your) head with a cloth!]
2. [You who are a shepherd], how [you walk about!]
3. [Your ewes have been seized, your lambs have been carried off,] how you walk about!
4. [Your she-goats have been seized, your kids have been carried off,] how you walk about!
5. [Your holy little donkey-mares have been seized with them,] how you walk about!
6. [Your holy churn is shat]tered, why have you covered (your) head with a cloth!
7. [Your] large kids lie prostrate in the sheep-pen,
8. Your small kids weep bitterly in the feeding-pen,
9. Your motherless lambs [utter] bitter cries at the wall's encompassing base.
10. Why does your little sister, overtaken by (their) weeping, utter supplications in their midst!
11. Your dog utters bitter cries in the desolate steppe,
12. Your spouse, the holy Inanna,
13. Weeps bitterly in her house which (having descended) from heaven, stands on the earth.
14. Your noble sister, Geštinanna,
15. By the gate of Lugalbanda,
16. By the boulevard of Ninsun,
17. Rends her rent sinews, rips out her hair,
18. Tears her torn sinews, rips out her hair,
19. Plucks out her hair like *bur*-rushes.
20. The lad wept at the meaning of the decreed fate,
21. Dumuzi wept at the meaning of the decreed fate:
22. "I who am a shepherd, after walking among men—how singularly I have been treated!
23. My ewes have indeed been seized, my lambs have indeed been carried off—how singularly I have been treated!
24. My she-goats have indeed been seized, my kids have indeed been carried off—how singularly I have been treated!
25. My holy little donkey-mares have indeed been seized with them—how singularly I have been [treated]!
26. My holy churn is indeed shattered—how singularly I have been [treated]!
27. My large kids are indeed [lying] prostrate in the sheep-pen,
28. My small kids are indeed weeping bitterly in the feeding-pen,
29. My motherless lambs are indeed [uttering] bitter cries at the wall's encompassing base,
30. My little sister, overtaken by (their) weeping, is indeed [uttering] supplications in their midst,
31. My dog is indeed [uttering] bitter cries in the desolate steppe,
32. My spouse, holy Inanna,
33. Is indeed weeping bitterly in her house which (having descended) from heaven, stands on the earth,
34. My noble sister, Geštinanna,
35. By the gate of Lugalbanda,
36. By the boulevard of Ninsun,
37. Is indeed rending her sinews, is indeed ripping out her hair,
38. Is indeed rending her torn sinews, is indeed ripping out her hair,
39. Is indeed plucking out her hair like *bur*-rushes.

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<sup>21</sup> In the translation, two dots stand for one missing word, three dots for two missing words, four dots for three or more missing words.

40. My foot has slid into my excavated grave, it does not let me [ascend] from it,
41. The tomb has stationed itself before me as a big door, it does not let me [ascend] from it,
42. My foot has slid into the rain-pouring cruel wind, it does not let me [ascend] from it,
43. The tempest has carried me off to the opposite shore, it does not let me ascend from it".
44. The big *galla* surrounded him tormented him with thirst,
45. [The little *galla*] surrounded him tormented him with thirst,
46. . . . ,
47. The *galla*—there being no surrounding reed hedge—[held on to his side],
48. [They bound] his hands that had been smeared in dung (?),
49. Him who had settled himself on a lofty seat, [they seized by his thighs],
50. [They removed] the crushed cover of his holy churn.
51. On that [day] the queen did not save his life, she [gave him over] to the land of no return [as her subst]tute,
52. The spouse of Ušumgalanna did not save his life she [gave him over] as her substitute,
53. Dumuzi was [held fast] by the *gišbur* at the *ešlam*,
54. He was [held fast] by the *gišbur* at the *ešlam* of(?) Ereškigal,
55. There was food there (but) it is inedible—he was [held fast] by the *gišbur*,
56. There was water there, (but) it was undrinkable, he was [held fast] by the *gišbur*,
57. At the place where Namtar dwelt he was [held fast] by the *gišbur*,
58. At (the place where) arts and crafts are non-existent he was [held fast] by the *gišbur*,
59. At (the place where) lips are covered with blood he was [held fast] by the *gišbur*.
60. In [those] days they were seven, they were seven,
61. [They], the sorcerers of *arali*, were seven,
62. [The sorcerers] of *arali* were seven, [they were] seven,
63. . . . they were those who worked a *huluppu*-tree.,
64. They were . . . , they were those who worked a *huluppu*-tree,
65. Who knew no brother, who knew no sister, the loud cry of day and night,
66. They are those who know (how to practise) witchcraft in heaven, who [know] (how to practise) witchcraft on earth,
67. In heaven they stretch for him the *gu-bad-DU*,
68. They make traverse there the . . . of heaven,
69. On earth they stretch for him the *gu-bad-DU*,
70. They cause the . . . of earth to return there,
71. They . . . the he-goats into his *dúr* like a ewe,
72. The shepherd(?) in order to arouse(?) . . . ,
73. Brought his sheep into the *gu-bad-DU*—no one knew,
74. His dwelling place knew not a trespasser(?) his foot . . . .
75. The shepherd-man, he who practised sorcery, broke into the ground,
76. He smashed a wine-jug in the steppe, the steppe was churned like milk,
77. Swarms of birds churned it in the steppe, the steppe was churned like milk,
78. Also birds—there being no apple tree—churned it in the steppe, the steppe was churned like milk,
79. Also the young maid wrought there an ornament,
80. Also the young bride brought there bitumen,
81. The . . . *mes*-tree brought . . . there,
82. The *asal*-tree whose fruit had perished, [stretched] its shadow there,
83. The . . . like the . . . , like a Dilmun-date, covered it like a garment.
84. At the side of the corpse the dog lay,
85. In his hut the raven [dwelt],
86. The dog ate by his side, [lay] at his feet,
87. The raven ate by his side, ascended to heaven.

## Commentary

*Lines 1–19.* The reading and meaning of *e-ne ba-LU-LU* in lines 1–5 are uncertain (the translation assumes the reading *ba-dib-dib* for *ba-LU-LU*); for *e-ne* “how,” cf. Krecher, *SKLy* pp. 100–101. For *sag tūg--dul* in lines 1 and 6, cf. especially *sag-gá-a tūg ba-an-dul*, “He (Dumuzi) covered (his) head with a cloth (*SK* 26 iv 25), which indicates that our *sag* is probably intended for *sag-gá*;<sup>22</sup> the reason for Dumuzi’s covering his head with a cloth is not stated, but probably it was to avoid witnessing the calamities that had befallen him.<sup>23</sup> The restoration of line 2 seems reasonable but is uncertain; for the restoration of lines 3–7 cf. lines 23–27. In lines 3–5 the refrain *sag tūg a-na-aš bi-in-dul* is not repeated by the scribe, probably only to save labor; this may also be true for the omission of *e-ne ba-LU-LU* in line 6. Line 5 provides us with the rather interesting and hitherto unknown detail that Dumuzi was the possessor of small donkey-mares in addition to sheep and goats. In line 6, *lil-e i-sig-ge*, literally “it is smitten by the wind,” is an idiomatic expression for “it is shattered,” “it is demolished”;<sup>24</sup> the reason for the author’s use of the present tense of the verb in this line, and not the preterite as in the preceding lines 3–5 and the following line 6, is not clear. To judge from lines 7–9, not all Dumuzi’s sheep and goats were seized and carried off, as might have been concluded from lines 3–4. Line 9 may depict the aimless wandering of the motherless lambs around the city walls. The “little sister” in line 10, is not identifiable by name.<sup>25</sup> For Dumuzi’s dog (line 11), cf. especially lines 95–97 of “Dumuzi’s Dream.” In line 13, one might have expected *e-<sub>11</sub>-dè* following *an-ta* (cf. line 200 of “Temple Hymns” and line 31 of “Gilgames and Agga”). For the rendering -e- following *nin-* (line 14) as “noble,” cf. Falkenstein, *ZA* 56: 90–91. In lines 17–19, the poet makes use of several rather unusual repetitions to depict Geštinanna’s self-torture and especially the tearing of her hair. The Emesal, *ú-šu-mu-búr* (line 19) corresponds to the Emegir *numún-búr* (line 39), corroborating Falkenstein’s deduction in *MSL* IV p. 23 that *šumu(n)* is the Emesal form of *numun*.<sup>26</sup>

*Lines 20–43.* For lines 20–21, cf. note 7. For line 22 cf. note 8. For *dili a-na mu-un-ag*, cf. lines 392 and 421 of “Enki and the World Order,” where Inanna complains *dili-mu-dè a-na bi-ag* which may be rendered “how singularly I have been treated” (literally “in my singleness how I have been treated”). In lines 37–38, which correspond to lines 17–18, note the minor variants in the initial complexes. Lines 40–43 have no corresponding lines in the first section of the composition; they seem to depict Dumuzi’s imaginary vision of his death and burial (cf. note 9). A more literal meaning of *kur ki-in-dar-ra-mà* in line 40 might perhaps be “in my excavated (funeral) mound”. For *gír--zer* (line 40, also *me-ri-zer* in line 42), “to slide,” “to slip,” cf. *AHw* sub *nehelšá*;<sup>27</sup> the restoration of the refrain in lines 40–43 is uncertain, as is also its translation. In line 42, the initial complex *im-hul-šeg-gá* seems to correspond grammatically to the initial complex of line 40, while *me-ri-mà* seems to be the Emesal of *gír-mà*, but on the surface there

<sup>22</sup> Cf. also line 103 of *a-ab-ba hu-luḫ-ḫa* (*YNER* p. 95) where the locative -a is governed by *tūg-dul*. On the other hand, in line 205 of “Temple Hymns” where Inanna is said to cover the head of males with a cloth, the verbal form is *sag-tūg-dul-lu*.

<sup>23</sup> Similarly in the *a-ab-ba hu-luḫ-ḫa* line cited in the preceding note, Enlil covers his head that he might not witness the suffering of his people.

<sup>24</sup> For other examples of *lil-e--sig* cf. *umuš-bi in-suḫ-àm lil-e bi-in-sig-àm*, “Its (Nippur’s) reason has become confused, it has been demolished” (line 105 of the “Lamentation Over the Destruction of Nippur”); *tūr-nun-e-ba-dù-a-bi lil-lu-gim ib-sig*, “The stall built by the prince has been demolished” (literally, “has been smitten like by the wind”), *ibid.* lines 1–2; *zaraḫ-e á mu-ni-tal-tal-la lil-šè* (variant *lil-e*) *im-mi-in-sig*, “The wailing that had engulfed him, he (the man’s personal god) demolished” (line 127 of Jacob Klein’s manuscript of “Man and His God”).

<sup>25</sup> Dumuzi’s *nin-bàn-da* is also mentioned in “Dumuzi’s Dream” (line 14); for additional examples cf. Alster’s comment to the line.

<sup>26</sup> For further details cf. note 4 of my article “Inanna and the *numun*-plant,” in the forthcoming Cyrus Gordon *Festschrift*; for the possible meaning of *numún-búr*, cf. *CAD* sub *elpet*.

<sup>27</sup> Note, however, that one might have expected *gír-mu* rather than *gír-mà* if the translation is correct.

seems to be no justification for the use of Emesal in this line;<sup>28</sup> the rendering of lines 42–43, which must relate in some way to Dumuzi's death vision, is quite uncertain.<sup>29</sup>

*Lines 44–50.* Lines 44–45 correspond in large part to lines 156 = 183 = 218 of "Dumuzi's Dream" where the verb reads *ba-ni-in-du<sub>3</sub>-uš*<sup>30</sup>. The rendering "thirst" for *a-nigin(-na)* (literally probably "water deprivation," cf. the equation *ni-gin* = *NIGÍN* = *ka-lu-ú ša A.MEŠ* in *CAD* 8:95) was first suggested in my translation of the "Lamentation Over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur" (*ANET*<sup>3</sup> p. 611 ff.) where lines 393–395 read:

ša-gar-e uru<sup>k1</sup> a-gim ba-e-si gá-la nu-un-ta-dag-ge  
 ša-gar-e igi-bi in-gam-me-e sa-bi im-lu-gú-dè  
 un-bi a-nigin-na ba-e-si zi-ĜUR i-ag-e  
 Famine filled the city like water, there is no respite from it,  
 Famine bends low their faces, it swells their sinews,  
 Its people were filled with thirst, . . .

This rendering is further corroborated by lines 408–410 of the lamentation which read:

ur<sup>k1</sup>-ma ę<sup>1</sup>štukul-e duk-saġar-gim sag-gaz i-ag-e  
 lú-kar-ra-bi dūg nu-um-gá-e bád-zag-bi im-tab  
 ku<sub>6</sub>-a-nigin-na-lu-ga-gim zi-bi r-tù-m-tù-m-mu-dè  
 Ur is shattered by the weapon like a saġar-vessel,  
 They who flee it cannot run fast, they were pressed tight to the side of the wall,  
 Like fish writhing(?) in thirst, their life is carried off.<sup>31</sup>

For the restoration of line 47, cf. the last line of the Scheil text *RA* VIII p. 161 ff. For *gi-šukur* with the meaning "reed fence" (of a corral), cf. Civil *apud* Sladek's Dissertation "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World" p. 216–217; the rendering "surrounding" for *NIGÍN* (following *gi*) seems reasonable but the complex is difficult to analyze grammatically. The restoration of the verbal form in line 48 is a guess based on the frequent depiction of Dumuzi as *šu-dù-a* and *á-lá-a*.<sup>32</sup> The restoration of line 49 is based on lines 349–350 of "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World" which read:

đumu-zi bara-maġ-a i-im-tuš maġ-a-DŪR-a dūr im-mi-gar  
 galla-e-ne haš<sub>4</sub>-a-na i-im-díb-bé-eš  
 Dumuzi seated himself on a lofty dais, settled himself on a lofty seat(?),  
 The galla seized him by his thighs.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>28</sup> In this line and the line following, Dumuzi seems to have envisioned vicious winds and storms accompanying his death; for similar motifs in connection with Dumuzi's death, cf. lines 12 ff. of the "Dumuzi and the galla" passage cited in the forthcoming study mentioned in note 3 (cf. also the Flood motif involving Inanna and Dumuzi in lines 35 ff. of "Inanna and the *numun*-plant," the composition mentioned in note 25).

<sup>29</sup> For *bal-ri*, cf. *CAD* sub *ebertan* and *ebertu*(A), and the rather obscure *bal-a-ri* of the Samsuiluna text published by Gertrud Farber-Flügge in the *Kramer Festschrift* p. 177 ff.

<sup>30</sup> Note that *du<sub>3</sub>* is also omitted in several of the variants cited in "Dumuzi's Dream" to lines 156, 182, and 218.

<sup>31</sup> Note that *a-nigin* can be read *a-nimin* and is probably therefore but a variant form of *enmen*, *immen* "thirst," (cf. *CAD* sub *šumu*). Note further that in *SK* 25 viii (cf. Krecher, *SKLy* p. 216) lines 45–46, *nigin* (without the preceding *a*) is to be rendered "thirst," since it is juxtaposed to *u<sub>4</sub>-šú* "hunger" (this was first suggested by Mark Cohen in his forthcoming monograph on the *iršemma*, in his comment to lines 22–23 of the Nergal *iršemma*, *CT* 15 plate 14). Moreover a comparison of *SK* 25 viii 46 with its duplicate *CT* 15 plate 7 line 24, shows that the word for "thirst" can also appear in the form *anaman* (written *a-nag-an*) since it is juxtaposed to *ú-kú*, a variant of *u<sub>4</sub>-šú*; the rendering of *CT* 15 plate 7 lines 23–24 is therefore: "I (Inanna) am one whose fledglings of the nest are hungry, I am one whose young of the stall are thirsty." For additional proof that *a-nigin* means "thirst," "water deprivation," cf. *BE* XXX No. 2 lines 30–31 that read:

ù-šub-ba-za ù-zi-ga-za sir-re-eš na-ri-bé  
 guruš a-nigin-na-za šul(?) a-tar-ra-za sir-re-eš na-ri-bé  
 Of your food that has been abandoned, of your food that has been carried off, she (your mother) will utter a chant for you,  
 Lad, of your water that has been with-held; young man, of your water that has been cut off, she will utter a chant for you.

Finally it is to be noted that the *a-nigin* of line 71 of the Ninkasi hymn (Civil, *Oppenheim Festschrift* p. 61 ff.) is also probably best rendered as "thirst," though the context is not too clear.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. *Dumuzi's Dream* p. 112–113.

<sup>33</sup> Note, however, that there is no *dūr* immediately preceding *ba-gar-ra-ám* in our text, and that the grammatical structure of *maġ-a-dūr-a* is rather uncertain.



For line 50, cf. lines 32 and 54 of "Dumuzi's Dream", and Alster's commentary on p. 92.

Lines 51–59. For the restoration of the second half of lines 51–52, cf. especially *UET* No. 11 line 27 which reads:

mà-e ki-gar-ra-bi-šè kur šè ba-ab-si-mu-dè

Me she gives over to the *kur* as its substitute.<sup>34</sup>

The restoration of *-nu-gi<sub>4</sub>-a* between *kur-* and *-šè* in line 51 is a guess only.<sup>35</sup> In line 53, the *-dè* following *<sup>a</sup>dumu-zi-* is grammatically unjustified; the restoration of the verbal form in this line and the following six lines is reasonably assured.<sup>36</sup> The rendering of line 54 assumes that the *-šè* following *èš-lam* is a scribal error. For *nam-galam* as the Sumerian equivalent of the English "arts and crafts," cf. especially lines 66–67 of "Enki and the World Order" which read:

é-kur-re é-<sup>a</sup>en-lil-lá-ta

abzu-eridu<sup>kl</sup>-mu-šè nam-galam mu-túm

From the Ekur, the house of Enlil,

I brought the arts and crafts to my abzu, Eridu.

Lines 60–74. This passage, which must be related in some way to the following and concluding section of the composition that begins with a sorcery-practising shepherd digging a grave in the steppe, is incomprehensible in large part. Lines 60–62 introduce seven sorcerers of *arali* in a style characteristic of Sumerian narrative poetry.<sup>37</sup> The remainder of the passage is largely obscure and the reading and rendering of many of the complexes are difficult and dubious.<sup>38</sup>

Lines 75–87. In line 75, the complex *ki-a-dar* (rather than *ki-dar* is rather unexpected; the *-e-* of *ba-e-dar* in this line (and in the relevant verbal forms in lines 76 and 84–87) is an as yet inexplicable pleonastic orthography, and is not semantically significant. The rendering of the verbal root *hur* in lines 75–78 is uncertain, as are also the real meaning and implication of the passage (note that the "it" in lines 77–78 may refer to the smashed wine-jug, and that line 78 may be no more than an amplification of line 77). The nuance intended by the initial *ù* in lines 78–80 is not too clear, the rendering "also" is not much of a help for its clarification. For *su<sup>h</sup>-kèš*, (line 79) cf. Adele Berlin's forthcoming *Enmerkar and Ensuhkešdanna* (comment to line 23); the significance of the making of an ornament in the steppe (assuming the rendering is correct) is not clear (nor is that of the bringing of pitch in line 80). In line 81, it is assumed that the *gú* (or *gú-bala*) qualifies the *<sup>a</sup>mes*, and that this complex is the subject of the verb (hence the absence of the subject element *-e* following *<sup>a</sup>mes*).<sup>39</sup> For the *asal*-tree (line 82), cf. *CAD* sub *šarbatu*, and note that to judge from our text it is a fruit tree. In line 83 there seem to be too many *gim*-complexes, which makes the meaning of the line as a whole uncertain. For lines 84–85, cf. *CT* 15 plate 18 lines 38–39 and Krecher, *SKLy* pp. 153–154. The rendering of the *-da-* in *mu-un-da-ab-kú* (lines 86–87) as "by his side," is far from certain.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>34</sup> The *-bi* following *ki-gar-ra-* is rather difficult, the rendering assumes that it refers to *kur*, that is, the substitute has been given over to the *kur* as its possession; it is not impossible, however, that the *-bi* is an error for *-ni*.

<sup>35</sup> The rendering of lines 51–52 is rather uncertain because of the ambiguity of the complex *KI.BI.GAR.NA* which may be read *gisbun* (or *šubun*)-na, although this hardly fits the context; the matter is complicated, however, by the fact that in the phonetically written passage *SK* 44 rev. 2–7, following the statements "Inanna was not alive" and "the spouse of holy Inanna was not alive," there follows a word *ni-eš-bu-na* which is probably a phonetic writing for *gisbun*.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. especially Heimpel, *Tierbilder* p. 224 ff.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. *SEM* 20 obv. 6 ff. and "Gilgameš and the Land of the Living" (B) line 31 ff. Note that the restoration of the initial complexes of lines 61–62 is a surmise only, and that the nuance intended by the *hè-* in *imin hè-na-me-eš* (lines 60–61) and in what seems to be no more than a variant writing *imin-na hè-en-na-me-eš* (line 62), is uncertain.

<sup>38</sup> Especially troublesome are the *-ag* complexes of lines 63–64; the seeming lack of a verb in line 65 and the uncertainty of this line's connection with what precedes and follows; the meaning of *gu-bad-DU* in lines 67, 69, 73; the identity of the individual to whom the *-na-* of the verbs in lines 67 and 69 refers (presumably it is Dumuzi); the meaning of *dúr* in line 71; the uncertainty of the reading and rendering of virtually all the complexes in line 72; the meaning of *bala* in line 74.

<sup>39</sup> Or perhaps *<sup>a</sup>mes* is followed by a relative clause just as *<sup>a</sup>asal* in the following line.

<sup>40</sup> In line 86 the missing subject element after *ur* may be due to the fact that *ur* is the subject of the intransitive *be-e-ná* as well as of the syntactically less important transitive *mu-un-da-ab-kú*.



## SOME ASSYRIANS AT SIPPAR IN THE OLD BABYLONIAN PERIOD

By CHRISTOPHER WALKER

The trade in tin, textiles, and silver between Ashur and its trading colony Kanesh is by now well known from the partly published archives from Kanesh. While the textiles involved were primarily produced in Ashur itself, a small proportion of them were imported from Babylonia, being described in the texts as "Akkadian textiles".<sup>1</sup> This link in the trading chain is still scarcely documented in the absence of the trading archives which must be presumed to have existed at Ashur, and probably at Sippar. The Babylonians themselves were actively involved in the trade, as is shown by the well-known but still inadequately published letter VAT 9249,<sup>2</sup> referring to the absence of the Akkadians and their textiles from Ashur because of a revolt in their country.

From its geographical position the city of Sippar must have occupied a focal position in trading relations between Babylonia and the kingdoms to the north and north-west. It naturally figures in the Old Babylonian itinerary from Larsa to Emar.<sup>3</sup> Some years ago W. F. Leemans summarised the evidence for trading relations between Sippar and Assyria and the Middle Euphrates<sup>4</sup> and for Sippar's involvement in the trade in tin in the reverse direction from Ashur to Babylonia.<sup>5</sup> Some more recently published Old Babylonian letters add further hints of trading ventures from Sippar to the north and north-west.<sup>6</sup>

Conversely we may expect to find Assyrians involved in the trade with Babylonia, especially at Sippar,<sup>7</sup> and there is a slight body of evidence for this. A few tablets with Old Assyrian features or script are known from Eshnunna (Tell Asmar)<sup>8</sup> and Nippur.<sup>9</sup> A tablet in Old Assyrian script and orthography recording a transaction at Ashur was found in excavations at Sippar (Tell ed Der), but was assumed by its editor, D. O. Edzard, to have come originally from Ashur.<sup>10</sup> An Old Babylonian tablet from Sippar in Old Assyrian script has long been known but not recognized for what it is. BM 80271 (*CT* 6, 26a = Bu 91-5-9, 407), an Old Babylonian marriage contract, although undated certainly comes from Sippar and is datable to the earlier part of the First Dynasty of Babylon (Sumulael or Sabium) on account of its style and list of witnesses. The unmistakable Old Assyrian appearance of its script is obscured by Pinches's copy. It also has a notably

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<sup>1</sup> M. T. Larsen, *The Old Assyrian City-state and its colonies* (Copenhagen, 1976) 87 and 89; K. R. Veenhof, *Aspects of Old Assyrian trade and its terminology* (Leiden, 1972) 98-103 and 158-159.

<sup>2</sup> Larsen, op. cit. 87 n. 8; Veenhof, op. cit. 98.

<sup>3</sup> A. Goetze, 'An Old Babylonian itinerary', *JCS* 7 (1953) 51-72; W. W. Hallo, "The road to Emar", *JCS* 18 (1964), 57-88.

<sup>4</sup> W. F. Leemans, *Foreign trade in the Old Babylonian period* (Leiden, 1960) 98-110 (also p. 96-98, *CT* 6 19b).

<sup>5</sup> W. F. Leemans, *JESHO* 11 (1968) 201-214.

<sup>6</sup> F. R. Kraus, *AbB VII* (Leiden, 1977) nos. 1 (Halab), 11 and 15 (Ekallatum), 76 (Ashur), 145 (Emar). See also S. M. Dalley, *The Old Babylonian tablets from Tell Rimah* (London, 1976) no. 134 (Karana).

<sup>7</sup> In this article I do not distinguish between Abu Habbah (Sippar proper) and Tell ed-Der (one of its suburbs).

<sup>8</sup> I. J. Gelb, "A tablet of unusual type from Tell Asmar", *JNES* 1 (1942) 219-226.

<sup>9</sup> Larsen, op. cit. 47 n. 76; V. Donbaz in *Florilegium Anatolicum* (E. Laroche Festschrift, Paris, 1979) 106. Ni 395 has now been published in transliteration by F. R. Kraus, *AbB V* (Leiden, 1972) no. 156. He comments on its possible origin in Ashur and its Old Assyrian form of address, with some reservations about its writing and grammar. *PBS* 1/2 1, which forms part of the same correspondence, also has an Old Assyrian form of address; its envelope, *PBS* 7 1, is sealed with a seal of peripheral Old Babylonian style (see *PBS* 7 pl. XCVII) in some respects comparable to seals on Old Assyrian tablets (e.g. *CCT* VI pl. 54 no. 54), and its inscription dub PN *a-na* PN differs from the normal Old Babylonian envelope (only *a-na* PN), although *AbB* II 160, *a-na* PN dub PN, is comparable.

<sup>10</sup> IM 49309: D. O. Edzard, *TIM* 7 (Wiesbaden, 1971) no. 190, and *Tell ed-Der* (München, 1970) 187-188 no. 190. See previously W. F. Leemans, *Foreign Trade* 101-102.

convex left edge. The man who is party to the contract as husband is named Sukalliya, a name also known from the Kanesh texts, but he is not necessarily an Assyrian since the name is known from other Sippar texts. At any rate the tablet indicates the temporary activity at Sippar of a scribe trained in an Old Assyrian school.

The Old Babylonian letter *CT* 29, 24<sup>11</sup> probably found at Sippar (Tell ed Der), is written by two Assyrians, Ashur-asû and Shâlini-pûti, to Warad-Sin. It includes an invocation to Ashur in the greetings formula and concerns letters brought or soon to be brought from "the city", i.e. Ashur. The letter is evidently not written from Ashur itself, but may have come from elsewhere in Babylonia, being written in a good Babylonian ductus of about the time of Hammurabi or a little earlier. So also is the letter PBS 7, 49 which forms part of the same correspondence.<sup>12</sup>

Lu-Dingir-mah, the writer of the letters *AbB* I 105 and 130 to Amat-Shamash at Sippar, was assumed by Leemans<sup>13</sup> to have been an Assyrian since the greeting in *AbB* I 130 invokes Shamash and Ashur. However apart from the fact that the name Lu-Dingir-mah is much more likely to belong to a Babylonian than to an Assyrian, the recent publication of further correspondence between Lu-Dingir-mah and Amat-Shamash<sup>14</sup> shows him invoking Shamash and "your lord" or Shamash and Aya *kallatum*. So it is best not to draw conclusions from the invocation of Ashur.

Two Assyrians are known from published economic texts from Sippar: Ashur-emûqi, named in a ration-list<sup>15</sup> of a time somewhat earlier than Hammurabi, and Ashur-iddinam, witness to two contracts<sup>16</sup> in the reign of Sin-muballiṭ.

The name Kanishîtum ("the girl from Kanesh") appears in two Sippar texts, *CT* 8, 32b, 2 (Samsuiluna year 21) and *CT* 2, 23, 23 (undated, but possibly also of the time of Samsuiluna); it is a slave-name.

Altogether more significant than these stray references is the occurrence of a number of Assyrian names in an Old Babylonian tablet listing in summary form several loans of silver. BM 97188 (1902-10-11, 242) comes from a large collection of tablets acquired by purchase.<sup>17</sup> At least part of the collection supposedly comes from Sippar. This provenance cannot necessarily be presumed for this tablet, although at present there seems to be nothing against it; it will eventually be proved or disproved by study of the personal names. The tablet is written in a clear Babylonian script of about the time of Hammurabi, so perhaps contemporary with level 1b at Kultepe (Kanesh). The only date recorded, an Assyrian *lîmu*, Hâbil-kînu son of Şilli-Ishtar (lines 47-48), is new and cannot yet be placed in chronological sequence among the *lîmu*-names known so far.

The tablet lists fourteen separate loans, here identified for convenience as A-N. All the loans are of silver except for I (vegetables). In three cases (A, B, N) the borrower also receives a *tadmiqtum* (apparently a term for interest-free trading stock)<sup>18</sup> in the form of additional silver, textiles or a slave-girl. Only two loans (A, C) refer to the purpose of the loan; in A it is for a trading partnership, in C for the payment of a ransom. In C the borrower receives an extra ten and a half shekels of silver for an unspecified purpose. Only four loans refer to the payment of interest (B, F, G, N). The statement of the receipt of the loan in

<sup>11</sup> BM 97050 = 1902-10-11, 104 = R. Frankena, *AbB* II (Leiden, 1966) no. 155.

<sup>12</sup> Kindly checked for me by Professor E. Leichty. Cf. W. F. Leemans, op. cit. 100-101.

<sup>13</sup> *JESHO* 11 (1968) 179-180 and 199.

<sup>14</sup> F. R. Kraus, *AbB* VII nos. 12-16.

<sup>15</sup> D. O. Edzard, *Tell ed-Der* no. 152, 9.

<sup>16</sup> *CT* 8, 1a, 22 and 4a, 23.

<sup>17</sup> Some Old Babylonian letters from this collection are published in *CT* 29 and 33 (and R. Frankena, *AbB* II), numbered between 97031 and 97816.

<sup>18</sup> For previous discussion of the term see F. R. Kraus, *Ein Edikt des Königs Ammisaduqa* (Leiden, 1958) 63 n. 1, D. O. Edzard, *Tell ed-Der* 147, and K. R. Veenhof, op. cit. 111.



A-H takes the alternative forms PN šu ba-an-ti (= *imtaḥar*) or šu-ti-a (= *namḫarti*) PN;<sup>19</sup> there is no apparent reason for this alternation. In I it takes the form ki PN. The remaining loans (J-N) give only the borrower's name; the fact that they are loans may be concluded from their association with the other loans on the tablet and from the fact that N has an abbreviated reference to the payment of interest.

Four of the loans (C, H, I, N) are made to people with Assyrian names (in N to an Assyrian and two Babylonians). Loan H is dated by an Assyrian *līmu*, and its silver is weighed by the weight-stone of the "city-house", an Assyrian term which taken with the *līmu*-dating indicates that the loan transaction took place in Ashur. The same may be true of loan M, undated and made to two Babylonians, but again involving silver weighed by the weight-stone of the "city-house". The references to trading partnership (A), *tadmigtum* (A, B, N), and ransom (C: perhaps paid for a merchant distrained by a foreign administration)<sup>20</sup> are suggestions of foreign trade. On the other hand there is nothing in loans D, E, F, G, J, K, or L to indicate involvement in foreign trade, and one would not expect a musician (K) to be involved in trade; it may be significant that these loans are generally for smaller amounts than the other loans.

Loan A is issued via Warad-Sin, presumably an official of the institution, whether temple or palace, which makes all the following loans. It would be particularly interesting to know the identity of this institution which apparently has a well organized book-keeping system, is involved in financing foreign trade, making loans to Assyrians and perhaps even having a representative at Ashur. The palace would seem to be the most likely possibility. If the tablet is correctly dated by its script to approximately the time of Hammurabi, it is unfortunate that at present we know almost nothing of Assyria's trade at that period.<sup>21</sup> The loan (I) of a large quantity of vegetables to an Assyrian, presumably for human consumption, hints at the presence of a large Assyrian family or possibly even a small trading colony at Sippar.

BM 97188 (1902-10-11, 242)

A [x ma.na kù.ba]bbar tab.ba  
[x gín] kù.babbar  
[ta-a]d-mi-iq-tum  
ki ir.<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU  
5 dumu i-lí-a.zu-ni  
<sup>1d</sup>nin.gal-e-ri-iš  
dumu lugal.<sup>d</sup>utu  
šu ba.an.ti

B 1 ma.na kù.babbar ṣa-ar-pu  
10 máš <sup>d</sup>utu ú-ṣa-ab  
17 gín kù.babbar 3 túg.ḫi.a  
ta-ad-mi-iq-tum  
<sup>1d</sup>ma-an-na-šu  
dumu ka-lu-mi  
15 šu ba.an.ti

<sup>19</sup> On the alternative forms *iltege* and *melqēt* see D. O. Edzard, op. cit. 29-30 and 149-150.

<sup>20</sup> Otherwise for the redemption of property or people held on mortgage or in debt slavery.

<sup>21</sup> On the Level Ib colony at Kanesh see K. Balkan, *Observations on the chronological problems of the Kārum Kaniš* (Ankara, 1955) 41-43, L. L. Orlin, *Assyrian colonies in Cappadocia* (The Hague, 1970), and M. T. Larsen, op. cit. 52-53.

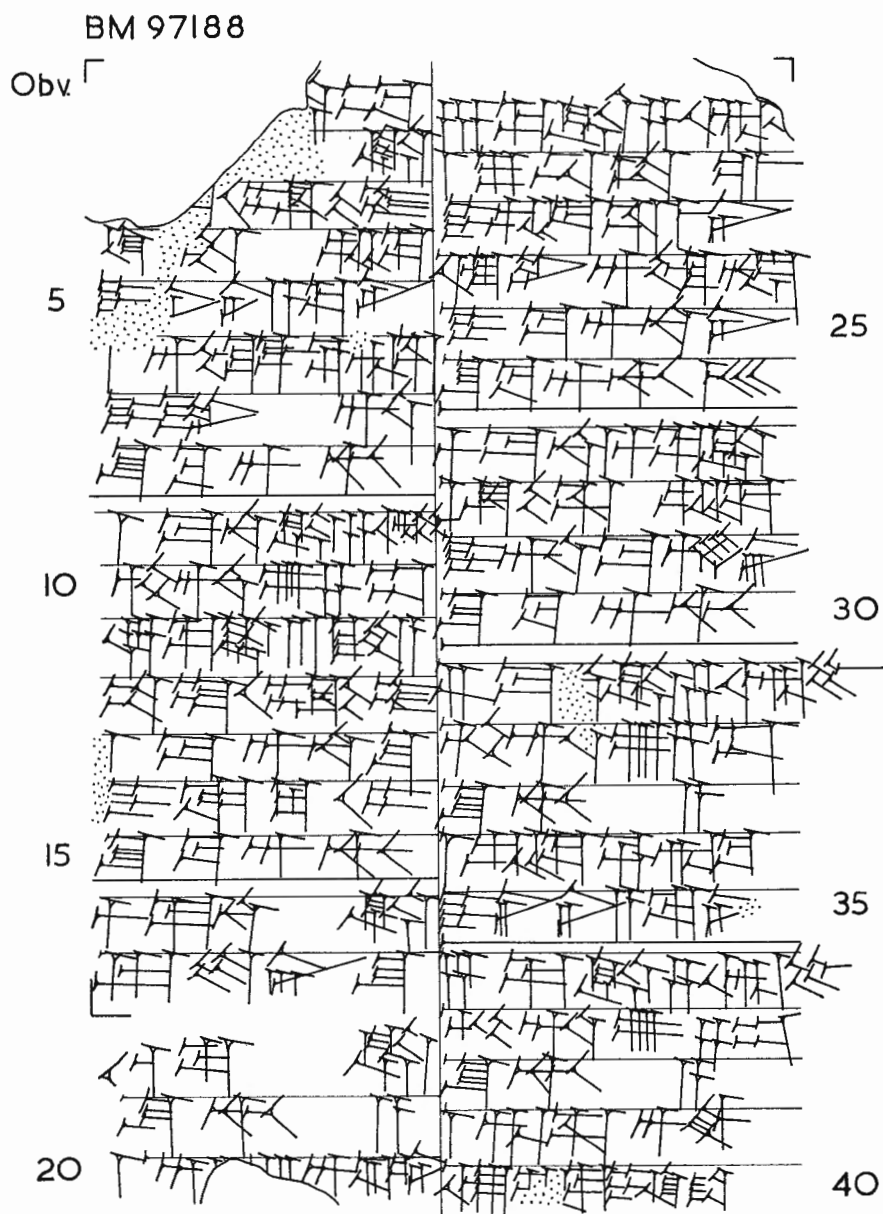


Fig. 1. BM 97188: obverse.

- C      $\frac{1}{2}$  ma.na kù.babbar  
       <sup>1</sup>*p-te<sub>4</sub>-er-šu*  
       10 $\frac{1}{2}$  gín kù.babbar  
       šu.ti.a  
       20 <sup>1</sup>*a-šur<sup>7</sup>-an.dùl-lí*
- D     6 gín kù.babbar *ša-ar-p[u]*  
       <sup>1</sup>*lu-uš-ta-mar*  
       dumu <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU-*iš-me-ni*  
       ù lú-<sup>d</sup>nin.šubur  
       25 dumu *ma-an-na-ni*  
       šu ba.an.ti.meš
- E      $\frac{1}{2}$  ma.na 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  gín kù.babbar  
       <sup>1</sup>*ig-mil<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU*  
       dumu <sup>d</sup>utu-*ma-gi-ir*  
       30 šu ba.an.ti
- F      $\frac{1}{3}$  ma.[n]a kù.babbar *ša-ar-pu*  
       maš <sup>d</sup>ut[u] *ú-ša-ab*  
       šu.ti.a  
       <sup>1</sup>*dEN.ZU-e-ri-ba*  
       35 dumu *ì-lí-a.zu-ni*
- G     5 gín kù.babbar *ša-ar-pu*  
       máš <sup>d</sup>utu *ú-ša-ab*  
       šu.ti.a  
       <sup>1</sup>*ri-iš-<sup>d</sup>iškur*  
       40 ù <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU-*i-qí-ša*  
       dumu.meš <sup>d</sup>utu-*nu-úr-ma-tim*
- H     1 ma.na kù babbar *ša-ar-pu*  
       na<sub>4</sub> é *a-lim*  
       šu.ti.a <sup>1</sup>*ku-ra-ra*  
       45 d[umu] *a-ia-a-ia* dumu *ku-ra-ra*  
       iti *ab šar-ra-nim*  
       *li-mu ha-bil-ki-nu*  
       dumu *šíl-lí-ištar*
- I     4 <sup>7</sup>gú<sup>7</sup> *ú dam-qú*  
       50 ki *en-na<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU*  
       dumu <sup>d</sup>*a-šur-mu-ša-lim*
- J     2 gín kù.babbar *il-a-ba<sub>4</sub>-i-šu-[x]-ni*  
       dumu <sup>d</sup>*akšak<sup>k1</sup>-e-ri-ba*
- K     1 gín kù.babbar  
       55 <sup>1</sup>*b-b[i]-<sup>d</sup>nin-<sup>7</sup>šubur<sup>7</sup> na-ru*  
       dumu *ir-iš[tar]*

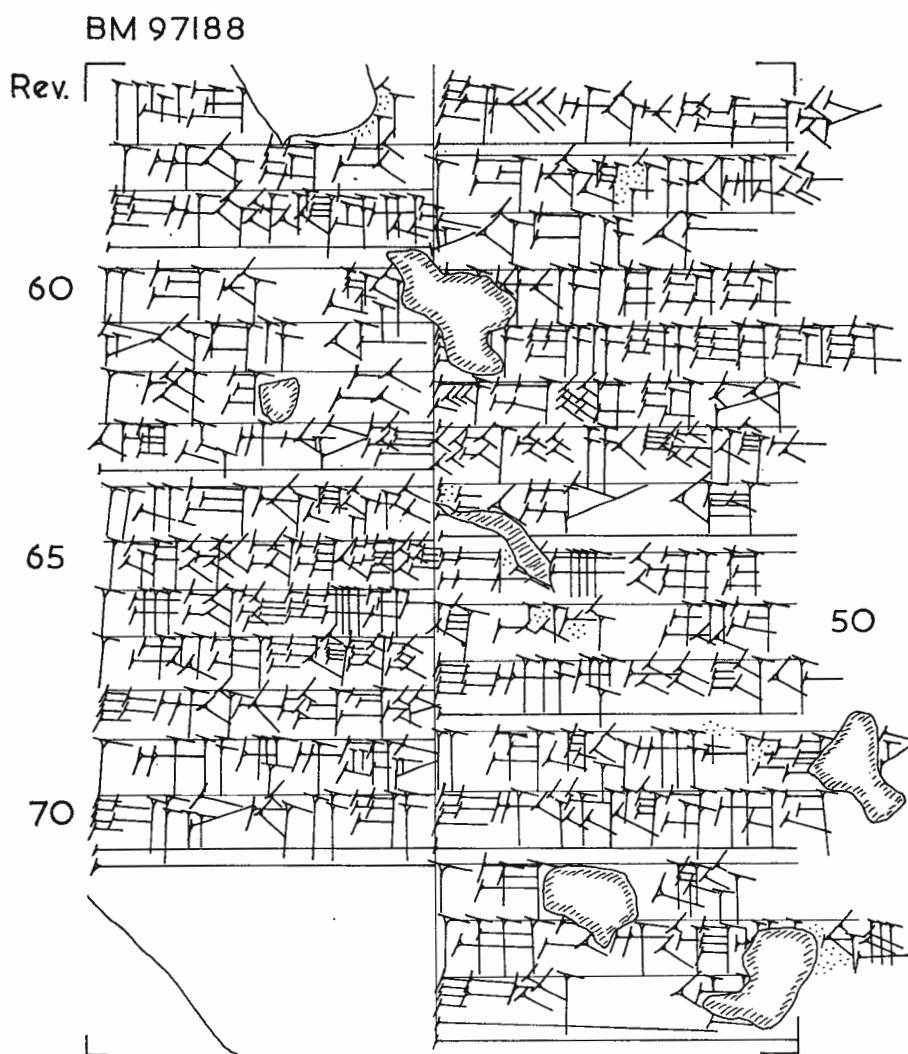


Fig. 2. BM 97188: reverse



L 2 $\frac{5}{8}$  gín [kù.babba]r  
<sup>1</sup>dutu-ra-bi  
 dumu <sup>d</sup>akšak<sup>k1</sup>-e-ri-ba

M 60 2 ma.na kù.babbar  
 na<sub>4</sub> é a-lim  
<sup>1</sup>ir-ku-bi  
 ù SIG-an-nu-ni-tum

N 2 $\frac{1}{3}$  ma.na kù.babbar máš  
 65 1 sag gemé ta-ad-mi-iq-tum  
<sup>1</sup>ú-ta-tum dumu ú-zu-rum  
<sup>1</sup>d<sub>EN.ZU</sub>-i-qí-ša-am  
 dumu <sup>d</sup>utu-nu-úr-ma-tim  
<sup>1</sup>a-šur-an.dùl-lí  
 70 dumu a-ni-na-a-ia

- A. [x minas(?) of silv]er (as) partnership capital (and) [x shekels(?)] of silver as *tadmiqtum*, via Warad-Sin son of Ili-asûni, Ningal-êriš son of Šarrum-Šamaš has received.
- B. 1 mina of refined silver—he shall pay interest (at the rate fixed by the temple of) Šamaš—(and) 17 shekels of silver (and) 3 textiles as *tadmiqtum* Mannašu son of Kalûmi has received.
- C.  $\frac{1}{2}$  mina of silver (as) his ransom (and) 10 $\frac{1}{2}$  shekels of silver received by Aššur-šulûli.
- D. 6 shekels of refined silver Luštar son of Sin-išmêni and Awil-Ilabrat son of Mannani have received.
- E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  mina 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  shekels of silver Igmil-Sin son of Šamaš-māgir has received.
- F.  $\frac{1}{3}$  mina of refined silver—he shall pay interest (at the rate fixed by the temple of) Šamaš—received by Sin-eriba son of Ili-asûni.
- G. 5 shekels of refined silver—he shall pay interest (at the rate fixed by the temple of) Šamaš—received by Riš-Adad and Sin-iqīša sons of Šamaš-nūr-mātim.
- H. 1 mina of refined silver by the weight-stone of the city-house received by Kurara son of Aya-aya son of Kurara.
- I. 4 talents of good quality vegetables with (i.e. loaned to) Enna-Sin son of Aššur-mušallim.
- J. 2 shekels of silver: Ilaba-išu . . . ni son of Akšak-eriba.
- K. 1 shekel of silver: Ibbi-Ilabrat the musician son of Warad-Ištar.
- L. 2 $\frac{5}{8}$  shekels of silver: Šamaš-rābi son of Akšak-eriba.
- M. 2 minas of silver by the weight-stone of the city-house: Warad-Kubi and Ipiq-Annunītum.
- N. 2 $\frac{1}{3}$  minas of silver (bearing) interest, (and) one slave-girl as *tadmiqtum*: Utatum son of Ušurum, Sin-iqīšam son of Šamaš-nūr-mātim, (and) Aššur-šulûli son of Anināya.

#### Notes

17. *ip-te<sub>4</sub>-er-šu*: *iptirū* is recorded as plurale tantum in *CAD*, but singular forms occur in *ARM* 7, 117, 7 and *JCS* 9, 99: 88, 2 (*AHw* 385) as well as here.
20. Aššur-šulûli also appears in loan N (line 69). The writing of this and other Assyrian names follows Babylonian orthography. The common Assyrian writings are *a-šur-DUL* and *a-šur-šú-lu-lí*: see H. Hirsch, *Untersuchungen zu altassyrischen Religion* (Graz, 1961) 11.
40. Sin-iqīša son of Šamaš-nūr-mātim also appears in loan N (lines 67–68).
43. na<sub>4</sub> é a-lim: the whole expression was previously known only from Middle Assyrian texts. Old Assyrian texts normally write é a-lim<sup>k1</sup>.

- 44–45. An unusual case of papponymy. The name Kurara is known from Old Assyrian texts. The name *a-ia-a-ia* is not yet attested elsewhere.
46. *iti ab šar-ra-nim*: in Old Assyrian texts generally written *áb ša-ra-ni*; for variants *áb šar-ra-nim* and *ab ša-ra-ni* see CAD A<sup>1</sup> 2a. The month name is used at Kanesh, but not at Mari, Rimah or Chagar Bazar.
47. *ha-bil-ki-nu*: the name is known from Old Babylonian but not Old Assyrian texts.
48. *šil-li-ištar*: normally written *ší-li-ištar* in Old Assyrian texts, but see CCT 6, 8d, 16. The name is common in Babylonia.
49. 4 talents is approximately 115 kg.
50. *ki*: from the appearance of this entry among a list of loans it may be presumed that the vegetables are with (i.e. loaned to) Enna-Sin rather than received from him.  
*en-na*-<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU: normally written *e(n)-na-sú-in* in Old Assyrian texts and *en-nam*-<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU in Old Babylonian texts.
51. <sup>d</sup>*a-šur-mu-ša-lim*: according to Hirsch, *Untersuchungen*, 9, in Old Assyrian texts the name is only attested in H. Otten, *KBo* 9 no. 20, 8 (from Boghazkoi) written *a-šur-mu-ša-lim*. That tablet would be contemporary with Kültepe Ib.
52. For the reading *il-a-ba*<sub>4</sub> see J. J. M. Roberts, *The earliest Semitic Pantheon* (Baltimore, 1972) 34 and 96 n. 236.
64. *máš*: presumably an abbreviation of *máš* <sup>d</sup>utu *ú-ša-ab* as in lines 10, 32 and 37.
- 67–69. Sin-iqīšam son of Šamaš-nūr-mātim and Aššur-šulūli appear in loans G and C above (lines 40–41 and 20).
70. *a-ni-na-a-ia*: normally written *a-ni-na(-a)* in Old Assyrian texts.

By EDITH K. RITTER and J. V. KINNIER WILSON

In presenting the following study for publication in honour of Professor O. R. Gurney, it is our hope that one who has made generous contributions to the growing corpus of Akkadian medical texts,<sup>1</sup> and who has long been interested in the place and purpose of magical figurines in ritual texts,<sup>2</sup> will look with favour upon a contribution which involves both fields. The paper has been written by the second author from a basic manuscript of the selected text contributed by the first; and this happy circumstance allows us also, however marginally, to associate our work with the name of Benno Landsberger, for the text is one which was studied jointly by Landsberger and Mrs Ritter during his last years. There can be no doubt at all that Landsberger would have been pleased to participate in a Festschrift honouring one of his own students, and in a sense three generations of scholarship are represented in this study.

The text which we discuss was published in copy by Franz Köcher in the third volume of his *Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen* (Berlin, 1964). So far as we are aware, it is without parallel at the present time with regard to the condition to be treated. Köcher in his introductory catalogue was content to describe it as a "Beschwörungsritual zur Lösung verschiedener Übel und Krankheiten", and although in one sense this statement is factually correct, we believe that it is possible to isolate one specific concept and condition from the given symptoms. The case that can be made for it is argued in the discussion following the text and translation. As to the treatment—if one may properly use such a term—this is of the common type involving a ritual and an incantation. Both of these are remarkably complete, and bring new details to their respective categories from the comparative point of view.

We have given thought to the way in which the text is best reproduced. The introduction and the ritual section are full of ideograms, and, to avoid complexity, there might certainly be a case for setting down the text as it is written and without attempting to resolve it further. However, Landsberger himself sought to penetrate and to read every ideogram; and by adopting a modified system which as far as possible offers transcriptions throughout, but which presents additionally the actual writing only where this is of interest or there is the possibility of confusion, one can provide essential information without impairing readability. Such a system has been used effectively by several scholars, including von Soden for the text of BMS 11 and 12,<sup>3</sup> and W. G. Lambert for his Dingir-ša-dib-ba incantations.<sup>4</sup> It was also the scheme that was adopted by the editor of "The Poor Man of Nippur".

In one respect our transliteration departs from the normal. The incantation in lines 22 ff. has been laid out in either three- or two-line "stanzas" in the belief that this was the original scheme. By so doing we do not mean to infer that the incantation has great literary merit, or is even poetry at all in the accepted sense. But in such a form it would certainly have been easier to learn by heart—if that is the correct idea—and the generally poetic cast of at least the "folk-lore" incantations is already established.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In *The Sultantepe Tablets I* (1957), Section VI, and Vol. II (1964), Section IV, with possibly some additional Numbers from Section III.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. O. R. Gurney, "Babylonian prophylactic figures and their rituals", *AAA* 22 (1935), 31–96; "A Tablet of incantation against slander", *Iraq* 22 (1960), 221–227; *Some Aspects of Hittite Religion*, Schweich Lectures of The British Academy, 1976, Lecture III, "Magical rituals", pp. 44–63.

<sup>3</sup> Edited in *Iraq* 31 (1969), 85 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *JNES* 33 (1974), 274 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. in general Jacobsen's introduction to his study with Landsberger of "An Old Babylonian charm against *merḥu*", *JNES* 14 (1955), 14 ff.

The text now follows. Uncertainties in either reading or translation are indicated by contrasting roman or italic type, and some general notes are provided at the end of the study.

## Text

- šumma amēlu mi-ih-ru ma-hi-ir-ma ki-i im-hu-ru-šu ul \*i-[di]  
 hul-qu šītu(ZI.GA) ka-a-a-nam irtanašši<sup>si</sup> ši-i-ti še-am u kás-pi-[ma]  
 šīt<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>uardi u amti alpē<sup>meš</sup> sisē<sup>meš</sup> u šēnu(U<sub>8</sub>.UDU.ĤÁ) kalbē<sup>meš</sup> ša[hē<sup>meš</sup>]  
 u amēlūtu(NAM.LÚ.U<sub>x</sub>.LU) mīt-ha-riš im-da-nu-tú hīp(GAZ) lib-bi irtanašši<sup>si</sup>  
 5 qabū(DUG<sub>4</sub>.GA) lā magāru(NU ŠE.GA) sa-su-u la a-pa-lu i-zi-im-tú ka<-šá-du> nišē hi-a-t[<sup>u</sup>]  
 i-na maiāli-šú iptanarrud<sup>ud</sup> ri-mu-tu irašši<sup>si</sup> a-du bi-nu-te-šú ana ili u šar[rē]  
 lib-bi-šú ma-li mi-na-tu-šú ittanašpakā(DUB.DUB.\*ka)<sup>a</sup> pi-qa la pi-qa i-pár-ru-ud  
 ur-ra u mūši la iṣallal<sup>al</sup> šunāti<sup>meš</sup> pár-da-a-ti itanammar(ICI.DUĤ.A.MEŠ) ri-mu-tu  
 irtanašši(TUK.TUK)  
 akalū u šikāru muṭ-ṭu a-mat i-qab-bu-ú i-maš-ši amēlu šuāti š /sib-sat ili u ištari(<sup>d</sup>EŠ<sub>4</sub>.DAR)  
 elī-šú ibašši<sup>si</sup>  
 10 il-šú ištari-šú itti-šú ze-nu-ú šumma amēlu šū qāt māmīti(ŠU NAM.RIM.MA) šudimmerakku  
 (ŠU.DINGIR.RA)  
 qāt amēlūti muruṣ(GIG) hi-im-ma-te mariṣ(GIG) ár-ni abi u ummi ahi u aḫāti  
 kimti(NÍ.RI.A) nišūti(NÍ.RI.A) salāti(NÍ.RI.A) iṣṣabtū(DIB)-šú-ma a-na paṭāri(DUH-ri)-  
 \*šú-ma<sup>b</sup> a-di-ra-te-šú a-na la ka-šá-d[i-šú]

- KÌD.KÌD.BI II šalam(NU) māmīti<sup>c</sup> zikar u sinniṣ šū ṭiddi kullati(KI.GAR) teppuṣ<sup>us</sup>  
 šim-šú-nu ina naglab šumēli-[šú-nu tašattar<sup>ar</sup>]  
 tūgnahlaptu tūgma-ak-lu-lu tūgparsīg šipāti(SÌG) uqnāti šalmātu u peṣāte tulabbasi<sup>si</sup> abnu  
 p[ēš]<sup>ā</sup> ina kišā[di-šú tašakkan]  
 15 tūgnahlaptu tūgma-ak-lu-lu tūgparsīg <KIMIN> tūgnēbeḫu(ÍB.LÁ) šá itqi(SÌG.ŠID) peṣī  
 šá-par-[šú x]  
 kurummas-su tusappaḫ(BIR.MEŠ) kusāpu(NINDA.MEŠ) ablu(UD.A) šīru ablu kuššēnu(E.SIR)  
 kušīdi šēni(DA.E.SIR) gīšm[ulḫu(GA.ZUM)]  
 gīšpilaggu(BAL) šid-di-tú ki-ri-is-su gīšši-ga-tú šamnu ṭābu taddašši<sup>si</sup> šu-di-e t[u-ša-da-ši]  
 ba-aḫ-ra tu-tab-bak-ši ina pān <sup>d</sup>Šamaš riksa tarakkas-ma <sup>du</sup>gadagurru tu[kān<sup>an</sup>]  
 suluppu tašqē(ZID.A.TIR) tatabbak<sup>ak</sup> miris(NINDA.Ì.DÉ.A) dišpi hīmēti tašakkan<sup>an</sup> niknakku  
 bu[rāši tašakkan<sup>an</sup>]  
 20 <sup>udu</sup>niqā ellu ebbu teppuṣ<sup>us</sup> uzuimittu uzuḫinṣu šumē(UZU.ZÚ.ŠEG<sub>6</sub>) tuṭaḫḫa<sup>ha</sup> KÁŠ.SA[G  
 tanagqi<sup>qi</sup>]  
 i-na pān <sup>d</sup>Šamaš šalam māmīti šú-nu-ti tanašši(ÍL)-ma šim-šú-nu<sup>d</sup> ta-[zak-kar]

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|--|--|
| šiptu <sup>d</sup> Šá-maš šar <sub>4</sub> šamē <sup>e</sup> eršetim <sup>tim</sup><br>a-na eṭir <sup>ir</sup> šal[mī] <sup>m</sup> [ēš-ia]<br>ināti <sup>meš</sup> .šú-[nu] | bēl kit-te u mī-šá-ri<br>kullatu(KI.GAR) ú-qa-diš<br>[šá kaspi a]d-din                           |
| ina ner-bi šá <sup>d</sup> Ē-a<br>i-na kullati<br>ina pān ilu-ut-ti-ka rabitu <sup>tu</sup> .  | ina up-šá-še-e ša [ <sup>d</sup> Aššur]<br>ṭidda(IM.MEŠ)-šú-nu a[k-r]i-iṣ<br>ab-ni-šú-n[u-ti-ma] |
| 25 x [x] x [ulab]bis-[s]u-nu-ti<br>kusāpu ablu šīru ablu<br>mīt-ha-riš ú-ṭal <sup>l</sup> -li-ma na-a-da   | kurummas-su usappiḫ(BIR.MEŠ)<br>x bu x x [(x)]<br>mē <sup>meš</sup> kašūti <sup>meš</sup>        |

28	<i>a-qî-[s]u-nu-[ti] ú-kab-bi-su-nu-ti</i> <i>lu-u zikaru(NITA) šu-u</i> <i>lu-u sinništu šī-i</i>	<i>ú-šar-ri-iḫ-šú-nu-ti</i> <i>an-nu-u šalam-[šú]</i> <i>ʾanʾ-nu-ʾúʾ šalam-šá</i>
	<i>aššatu šu-ḫu-zu</i> <i>mu-tu šu-ḫu-zu</i>	<i>an-ni-tu lu aššas-s[u]</i> <i>[an]-nu-ú lu mūt(DAM)-sa</i>
30	<i>an-nu-u lu-ḫa-mi-ru-[u]m-m[a]</i> <i>Šamaš bēlu šaqū<sup>1</sup>.</i> <i>ana-ku annanna mār annanna</i> <i>ina u<sub>4</sub>-mī an-ni-e</i>	<i>an-ni-tu lu ḫu-ir-tu</i> <i>mu-du-ú kalama(DÚ.A.BI)</i> <i>ardu [p]a-liḫ-ka</i> <i>pāni-ka aš-bat</i>
32	<i>ú-sa-pa ilu-ut-ka</i> <i>nīšu ma-mitu šá iṣbatū-ni-ma</i> <i>ú-šá-ḫa-ḫu šīrī<sup>meš</sup>-ia<sub>5</sub></i>  <i>ina qī-bīt ilu-ti-ka</i> <i>a-na pu-uḫ šīrī<sup>meš</sup>-ia<sub>5</sub> u la-ni-ia</i> <i>pu-ḫu-ú-a di-na-nu-ú-a</i>	<i>r[abītu<sup>t</sup>]<sup>u</sup></i> <i>irteneddū-ni u<sub>4</sub>-mu u mu-[šī]</i> <i>ana ʾnaʾ-kās napišti-ia izzazzū<sup>zu</sup></i>  <i>rabī[tī<sup>tu</sup>]</i> <i>addiš(SUM)-šu-nu-ti</i> <i>li[b-šu-u-ma]</i>
35	<i>a-na [Ereš-ki-gal]</i>  <i>pu-uḫ ʾraʾ-ma-ni-ia</i>	<i>[ša]r-rat [ra]-ʾbi-tiʾ &lt;šá&gt;</i> <i>eršetu<sup>tu</sup></i> <i>ina eršetim<sup>tim</sup> a-qeb-[bir]</i>
	<i>[</i> <i>[a]t-tu-nu muḫ-[r]a-ni-ma</i> <i>]</i>	<i>[</i> <i>at-tu-nu pi-tan-n[i-(ma)]</i> <i>]</i>
37	<i>[</i> <i>[a]t-[t][u-[nu mu]ḫ-ra-ni-ma</i> <i>]</i>	<i>[</i> <i>at-tu-nu pi-t[an-ni-(ma)]</i> <i>]</i>

Remainder fragmentary

7<sup>a</sup> Copy -ak; a scribal error is presumed.12<sup>b</sup> Text DUḫ-ri-ri-ma, as noted also by Köcher in the Contents section, p. xvii.13<sup>c</sup> Appears to have been followed in the text by an anticipatory ša and the faint beginnings of a further sign, possibly erased.21<sup>d</sup> Text MU.NE-šú-nu.*Translation*

“If an *awīlum* has had a (long) spell of misfortune—and he does not know how it came upon him—so that he has continually suffered losses and deprivation (including) losses of barley and silver and losses of slaves and slave-girls, and there have been cases of oxen, horses, sheep, dogs and pigs, and even (other) *awīlū* (in his household) dying  
5 off altogether; if he has frequent nervous breakdowns, and from constantly giving orders with no(one) complying, calling with no(one) answering, and striving to achieve his desires while having (at the same time) to look after his household, he shakes with fear in his bedroom and his limbs have become “loose” to an extreme degree; if he is filled with anger against god and king; if his limbs often hang limp, and he is sometimes so frightened that he cannot sleep by day or night and constantly sees disturbing dreams; if he has an (ataxic) “looseness” in his limbs (from) not having enough food and drink;



and if (in speech) he forgets the word which he is trying to say; then, as for that *awīlum*, the anger of (his) god and goddess is upon him.

- 10     “(Since) his god and goddess are angry with him, if that *awīlum* should (subsequently) become ill with *qāt māmīti*, *šudimmerakku*, *qāt amēlūti* or *murūš himmāte*, the iniquities of father and mother, brother and sister, of clan, kith and kin, will have taken hold of him.

“To release him, and so that he shall not be overcome by his anxieties:

- (*Procedure*): “You shall make two *māmītu*-images, male and female, of clay and potter’s clay, and you shall write their names on their left-hand sides. (The female figurine) you shall dress with a coat, . . . and cap of blue, black and white wool. A white stone you  
15 shall put round her neck. (The male figurine) you will (likewise) clothe with coat . . . and cap, and a girdle of white unspun wool you will [bind] on his loins. You will supply generous food rations for him (consisting of) dried bread and dried meat. (The female figurine) you will provide with sandals and sandal-straps, a comb, a spindle, a *set of spools*, a hair clasp, and an alabastron with perfumed oil. Travel provisions you will prepare for her, and a hot soup (*sc.*, before the journey) you will pour out for her.

- “Then before Shamash you will prepare the (customary) ritual. You will set up an *adagurru*, and provide (side) dishes of dates and emmer-meal. You will serve honey-  
20 and-butter sweetmeats. You will lay the censer with juniper (leaves). You will prepare a sacrificial sheep-offering which is pure and without blemish, and the right shoulder, (both) fat and roast, you will present to him. Best beer you will libate for him.

“You will then *introduce* the *māmītu*-statues to Shamash, declaring their names (and saying):

## 22 (*Incantation*)

“O Shamash, king of heaven and earth, lord of law and just reform,  
To preserve (the lives of) my statues I have purified the potter’s clay,  
I have given them their silver beads.<sup>6</sup>

“(Yea), through the greatness of Ea, by the magic skill [of *Ashur*],  
From potter’s clay I pinched off the clay for them,  
And before your great godhead I fashioned them.

- 25     “With . . . I have clothed them, I have set out the food rations.  
(Even) dried bread and dried meat I have . . .  
I have filled together (their) waterskins with cold water.

- “ (As) in presenting them to you I honour (you) by them, I glorify (you) by them,  
(So) let this his statute become a man,  
28     Let this her statue become a woman.

- “To enable (him) to take a wife, let this woman be his wife.  
To enable (her) to have a husband, let this man be her husband.  
30     Let the man be a *hā’īru*; let the woman be a *hīrtu*.

“O Shamash, lord most high and knower of everything,  
I, So-and so, son of So-and-so, thy respectful servant,  
From this day on do walk before you.

<sup>6</sup> For this idea in connection with the “purifying” of potter’s clay see texts cited in CAD K, 506, under *kullatu*.



In the end it is quite clear how the condition was to be treated. Release was to be effected by means of "substitute figurines", whose function, to cite a recent statement,

"is—as S. H. Hooke put it—to act as a lightning conductor by diverting the divine wrath away from the threatened victim. If the patient is sick, there is a potential threat of death, and if no other deity is known to be the cause, the substitute is offered to the Queen of the Underworld, in accordance with the belief first attested in the Sumerian myth of the Descent of Inanna, that a victim once claimed by the Underworld can only be rescued by the provision of a substitute."<sup>9</sup>

For the texts, major references will be found collected in CAD D 149–150 under *dinānu*, and it may be hoped that much will be learned from W. Schramm's new edition of the series *alam-ni-sag-il-la*.<sup>10</sup> Amongst others, an important contribution to the subject was made by G. Meier in his "Ein akkadisches Heilungsritual aus Boghazköy", ZA 45 (1939), 195–215; the text there discussed featured "der Ersatzfigur, *šalam andunāni/šalam pūhi*" (one may compare also AHW under *andunānu* and *pūhu*). In the BAM text the reference is to two *šalam māmīti* (lines 13 and 21), and with the important mention of *nīšu māmīti* in line 32, the term has an essential bearing on the classification of the text. No colophon, or reverse, is preserved, but with little doubt the tablet will have belonged to the series *māmītu ana pašāri*, or, in Sumerian, *nam-erim būru-da*.<sup>11</sup> Traces of the word *māmītu* are preserved also in lines 39–42 of the text, and further substantiate the connection.

As to the point of there being two figurines, there is authority in Zimmer's *Ritualtafeln*, No. 49, vi, 2 f. (discussed below in the Notes to lines 27–28) and No. 50, ii, 5, for a male and female partnership in the substitution ritual, and Gurney has also referred to this in AAA 22, p. 37. However, the situation in these passages is different, and BAM 234 thus brings new information to this pattern and variety of the ritual.

There would remain the question of how we should look upon the text and the disease condition in modern terms. In this connection the title of our study reveals much, and although it represents no more than a layman's assessment of the matter, anxiety would appear to be a prominent feature of the described illness. In this case some lines from a modern textbook are relevant. They are taken from D. Curran and M. Partridge, *Psychological Medicine: An Introduction to Psychiatry* (Edinburgh and London, fifth ed., 1963), p. 242.

"It should be realized that many effective people carry quite a heavy load of anxiety in the normal course of events, and do so without complaint. A certain amount of anxiety is to be expected in an active life, and it is only neurotic people who regard normal anxiety as sickness and only hysterical people who exploit it in that way. But anxiety becomes pathological if it is aroused without adequate cause, and persists in the absence of outside reason for such persistence. It is when this has occurred, and where such anxiety is the essentially prominent feature of the patient's condition, that the diagnosis 'anxiety state' may be properly applied."

As to the symptoms of an anxiety state, the same authors include this paragraph (p. 247) in a very much longer statement:

"The mental symptoms vary according to the severity of the state, from mild uneasiness coupled with a feeling that something is going to happen . . . to actual panic in which the patient is acutely afraid. In the typical case the fear is not clearly focussed on any

<sup>9</sup> O. R. Gurney, *Some Aspects of Hittite Religion* (1977), 55, in a Section devoted to "The Substitute".

<sup>10</sup> Announced by R. Borger in his HKL III, 85.

<sup>11</sup> For details of identified texts reference may be made to Borger, HKL III, 87.

special object, but is general and permeates the whole mental state so that the patient experiences tension and disturbed concentration with inability to settle. Irritability is a common feature; the appetite is frequently impaired, so that loss of weight can be observed; and the patients find difficulty in getting off to sleep and wake unrefreshed after troubled dreams."

Finally, there are two phrases in the opening description of the text which at first sight may be deemed of little significance, but which nevertheless appear to fit neatly into the picture. The first of these is the phrase *minātu-šu ittanašpakā* (line 7), translated "if his limbs often hang limp". (It may be noted that the almost identical phrase *mināti* (UB.NIGIN.NA)-*šu iš-šap-pa-ka* in Labat, TDP 190, 21, is translated "si ses membres sont ballants"). In this connection a report on certain soldiers under great stress<sup>12</sup> drew attention to their "fetal-like position with the trunk flexed forward, the arms hanging down at the sides. Many of these severely anxiety-ridden soldiers looked as if they had adopted simian ["ape-like"] postures."

The second phrase is from line 9, *a-mat i-qab-bu-ú i-maš-ši*, "if (in speech) he forgets the word which he is trying to say". This purely mental condition is, as we understand, often nowadays called "blocking"; and it is on record that "anxious students often choke-up or block in test situations".<sup>13</sup>

We thus believe that, despite this necessarily brief presentation of a difficult and complex subject, there is much in the symptomatology of BAM 234 to support the interpretation suggested.

#### Notes

1. *ul \*i-[di]*. For the emendation proposed see already CAD M/II 59, under *miḥru*, 6.

5. *gabū*(DUG<sub>4</sub>.GA) *lā magāru*(NU ŠE.GA). This reading and its certain interpretation in the context shows up an error that was made by the writer in the discussion of part of AMT 96, 7 with KAR 26, as presented in AS 16, 291. The equivalent phrase in line 3 of those texts was read *i-qab-bi-ma la imdaggarū*(NU ŠE.GA)-*šu*, and was thought to mean "(if) he says, although no one will agree with him (that it is so)." The second verb, however, is now rather to be read *imaggurū*, and the meaning will be "(if) he gives an order, and no one (sc., in his household) complies with it." The situation in both cases seems likely to have been more imagined than real.

In the same line *sa-su-u* (for Bab. *šasū*), and of course *hi-a-[u]*, are Ass. forms of the infinitive. It is not doubtful that *nīšē* stands elliptically for *nīš bitī*, as commonly (cf. also The *Nimrud Wine Lists*, pp. 26 and 59).

6. *a-du bi-nu-te-šu* is a phrase which we cannot parallel, and it is not even certain that the phrase is correctly taken with the words preceding rather than following, although the spacing of the signs might readily suggest the former alternative. In the obvious choice regarding the preposition, *adu* (*adi*) in the sense of "up to", or "as far as", would seem most natural, and perhaps some such phrase as "as far as it can be produced", and so, "to the maximum degree possible", represents the kind of meaning which should be considered.

10-11. Of the four diseases *qāt māmūti*, *šudimmerakku*, *qāt amēlūti* and *murūš ḥimmāte*, mentioned in these lines, only the second and third are easily definable at the present time. From STT II 256, and Gurney's catalogue entry against this text, "Ritual with incantations against 'hand of man' *qāt amēlūti*", i.e. calumny and hostility on the part of neighbours and the authorities", it would seem likely that *qāt amēlūti* was the ancient term for "delusions of persecution". As for *šudimmerakku*, this term is entered in the synonym lists against *šibtu* (cf. von Soden, AHw 1259, under *šudingirakku*), and may for the most part have denoted a "stroke" (caused by a brain haemorrhage). Part of the reasoning behind this suggestion is the likelihood

<sup>12</sup> By Roy Grinker, Sr., "The Psychosomatic aspects of Anxiety", in Charles D. Spielberger (ed.), *Anxiety and Behaviour* (New York, 1966), 130.

<sup>13</sup> C. D. Spielberger, in a section on "The effects of Anxiety on recall", *Anxiety and Behaviour*, p. 369.

that, in the slave contracts, *bennu* meant "heart attack" and *šibtu*, "stroke", and that neither was confused with epilepsy (*miqtu*). For examples of *qāt māmiti* reference may be made to CAD M/I 193, and to AHW 600 under *māmitu*, 6 b). The term *murūš himmāte* appears to be new in this form, although—somewhat despite the spelling—it is possibly related to *murūš himmāti*, KAR 42, 6. For the latter cf. CAD H 191 and AHW 346, under *himittu* II (perhaps wrongly).

13 ff. In the section relating to the making of the figurines interpretation and restoration are much aided by parallel sources. Landsberger noted the particular relevance of the Lamashtu texts, for which Myhrman's ageing edition in ZA 16, 141 ff. still provides basic materials. Relevant lines include I i 26 f.; iii 30; II iii 50; III rev. 23 and 28. On other matters *tūma-ak-lu-lu* in lines 14 and 15 exhibits Assyrian vowel harmony as against the Bab. *maklalu*, and through the suggested intermediary of *tūma-ak-lul-<sup>r</sup>tū<sup>r</sup>* in the Practical Vocabulary of Assur, line 250,<sup>14</sup> it may relate to the Aram. *maklaltā*, evidently a type of "crown".<sup>15</sup> In line 16 *kuš.DA.E.SIR* (or *kuš<sup>r</sup>DA.E.SIR*) appears to be new, and it is not listed in A. Salonen, *Fussbekleidung*, although *kušzag-e-sir* and *kušbar-dù-e-sir* (p. 36 f.) are certainly terms of the same type. The obvious reading in Akk. would be *kušidi šēni*, as suggested, and the meaning "sandal strap(s)" derives suitably from CAD I/J 15, 3 b). In the following lines *pilaqu* and *kirissu* as "emblems of womanhood" are discussed by M. Civil, JNES 33 (1974), pp. 333 f., and only *šidditu* between them is still obscure. This term alternates with *šiddu* in the paraphernalia of the female figurine, and being mostly associated with her *pilaqu*, "spindle", has suggested that "spool(s)" or "a set of spools" (that is, for retaining the spun thread) might be appropriate in the context. The translation "perfumed oil" for *šamnu tābu* towards the end of the line has been borrowed from A. L. Oppenheim, *Glass Texts*, 16.

18–21. The instructions regarding the sacrificial meal seem generally clear, but it is strange that the relevant texts show so much variety in detail. In particular, one notices that the clauses of the present version are placed largely in the opposite order to those found in Text No. 1 of Gurney's "Babylonian prophylactic figures and their rituals".<sup>16</sup> A text which has close affinity with our passage is KAR 73, obv. 8–10, and the reading *tašqē* for *zid.A.TIR* in line 19 has been adopted in the light of the *taš-qē-e* of that text. In the same line the translation "juniper (leaves)" for *burāšu* follows from Hooper and Field, *Useful Plants and Drugs of Iran and Iraq* (Chicago, 1937), who write against the juniper on p. 132: "The leaves are used as incense in Khorasan". In line 20 we write the ideogram for *šumē* in the form *UZU.ZU.ŠEG<sub>6</sub>* in the belief that *uzu-zú*, as Sumerian, could certainly be acceptable as a reduplicated form of *uzu*. KA as the second sign yields no obvious sense.

27. The suffixes of *ú-kab-bi-su-nu-ti* and *ú-šar-ri-iḫ-šú-nu-ti* in this line, if correctly interpreted, would appear to provide examples of Jacobsen's "Ablative Accusative", cf. JNES 19 (1960), 101–116, and 22 (1963), 18–29, with von Soden, *Or.* 30 (1961), 156–62.

27–28. With the paired phrases in these lines it is profitable to compare the following pairs from Zimmern, BBR No. 49, vi(?), 2–3:

<i>šum-ma zi-kar-ka-ma</i>	< <i>an-ni-tu</i> > <i>lu aššat-ka</i>
<i>šum-ma si-niš-ta-ki-ma</i>	<i>an-nu-ú lu mūt-ki</i>

The two situations are not, however, parallel since in the latter text it is "All-evil and All-wickedness" (*mimma lemmu mimma lā tābu*) who is being addressed. The sense therefore is:

"If you are a male, let this female (figurine) be your wife;  
If you are a woman, let this male (figurine) be your husband."

35. [*ša*]r-rat [*ra*]-<sup>r</sup>bi-ti<sup>r</sup>. The same phrase, standing for *šarrati rabīti*, occurs in the Late Version of *Gilg.* III 16, and was discussed in the writer's "desonance" article, JSS 13 (1968), 94. That study could now have been written two or three times over. The writing *še-am* in the sequence *ši-i-ti še-am u kas-pi-[ma] šīt<sup>14</sup>ardi u amti*, as found in lines 2–3 of our tablet, provides a further example.

<sup>14</sup> Thus B. Parker, *Iraq* 23 (1961), 20, under ND 2311.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Marcus Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Talmud* (1950), p. 783.

<sup>16</sup> There are three points of comparison: lines 11–14 and 38–42 of rev. i, and lines 9–12 of rev. ii.

## DATING OF HITTITE TEXTS: A TEST

By SILVIN KOŠAK

I. Over the last ten years, criteria for dating Hittite texts have gradually been evolving. In the first stage, so-called "orthographic"<sup>1</sup> peculiarities were identified which enabled a rough division of texts into Old, Middle and Late (or Empire) texts. The Middle Hittite group was a new discovery, causing a major reshuffle of texts and a consequent re-writing of Hittite history. The two prominent studies were the pioneering one by Carruba (1969) and that of Houwink ten Cate (1970) which utilized a larger corpus of texts. The latter separated the distinctive features into linguistic and philological characteristics and added some observations on the use of *topoi* which he divided into groups exhibiting similarities in content matter, similarities in structure and lexical correspondencies, all typical for certain periods. These criteria were largely accepted, with a notable dissension by A. Kammenhuber<sup>2</sup> and a strong scepticism by J. D. Muhly.<sup>3</sup> A general survey of current subdivisions of periods is summarised by J. J. S. Weitenberg.<sup>4</sup>

II. A further boost for dating came with new studies on Hittite palaeography.<sup>5</sup> This method is still very much in its initial stage and needs a great deal of detailed analysis before it can become a reliable guide for dating texts. The underlying principle of this method is the assumption that Hittite cuneiform writing shows consistent changes throughout the centuries, independent of personal styles of writing. Hoffner, for example, pointed out<sup>6</sup> that different scribes may have different handwriting in the same period, or that even the same scribes might write differently on different occasions. All this has to be taken into consideration. Another important principle was stressed by Prof. Gurney,<sup>7</sup> namely, that texts with certain datings should be chosen as pilot texts, preferably certified originals with royal seals, letters and similar compositions likely to be originals. It is true that the not very good choice of texts by Rüster has unnecessarily weakened the case for palaeography as a tool for dating. In spite of these reservations, it seems pretty certain that several signs show consistent changes. The most typical ones are: *tar*, *ak*, *ik*, *KÜ*, *ni*, *gi*, *uk*, *az*, *du*, *URU*, *ù*, *li*, *šar*, *da* and *id*. In fact, this method has already proved to be very helpful in dating the relative ages of two or more copies of the same text<sup>8</sup> and the negative view that the basic requirements of a Hittite palaeography are non-existent<sup>9</sup> seems to be unfounded. Although it is conceivable that scribes would try their hands at archaising, there is so far no indication of any such attempt. On the contrary, it has been demonstrated that certain signs, especially *li* and *šar*, changed their shape so much that later copyists did not recognize them and consequently miscopied them.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Neu-Rüster 1973:222 and n. 6.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Kammenhuber 1976:135 n. 11, with further literature.

<sup>3</sup> Muhly 1974:139 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Weitenberg 1979:289 and n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Rüster 1972; Neu-Rüster 1975.

<sup>6</sup> Hoffner 1977:78.

<sup>7</sup> Gurney 1977:200.

<sup>8</sup> Neu-Rüster 1973.

<sup>9</sup> Szabó & Heinhold-Krahmer 1976:102.

<sup>10</sup> Neu-Rüster 1973:225; Otten 1979:275.



III. As a final criterion for dating there remain the contents of the text itself, as well as prosopographical considerations.

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As already mentioned these sets of criteria enable us to determine the relative dates of texts with a fair degree of certainty. More difficult is absolute dating, especially in borderline cases, such as transitions between Old/Middle or Middle/Empire periods. It would therefore be interesting to test such a text with a view to all the possible criteria available.

For this, the text KBo 16:24+ (CTH 251)<sup>11</sup> was chosen, for several reasons. First, its dating is still controversial; second, it is large enough to reveal a statistically satisfactory number of characteristic features; third, the text itself contains information which could be used as additional supporting evidence.

So far, the text has been dated as belonging to the period of Tudhaliya II,<sup>12</sup> at the beginning of the 14th century,<sup>13</sup> and to the reigns of Tudhaliya III<sup>14</sup> or Suppiluliuma I.<sup>15</sup> This is a time span of nearly 100 years, depending on the chronological reconstruction of successive kings during the Middle Hittite Kingdom. While Neu-Rüster (1973) have succeeded in dating the relative age of some texts within 30 years, it would surely be possible to narrow down the dating of KBo 16:24+?

Ad I. The linguistic evidence in all its aspects was collected for this text by Houwink ten Cate<sup>16</sup> where it is listed as Cat. 179. 9. It might be helpful to recapitulate the features which link this text to other texts of the Middle Hittite period.

Among the linguistic evidence the following Middle Hittite characteristics are found: 2nd pers. plur. gen. pers. pron.: šumenzan; 3rd pers. plur. nom. dem./pers. pron.: ki-e, a-pí-e; dat. sing. encl. pers. pron.: -še; 3rd pers. sing. pres. mi-conj.: i-e-iz-zi, ku-ud-da-ni-e-iz-zi, nu-un-tar-ri-id-du, nu-un-tar-i-e-id-du, šar-hi-i-e-id-du; 2nd pers. plur. pres. in -tani: nu-un-tar-ri-ta-ni; "Directive"<sup>17</sup> in -a: la-ah-ha; šarra- with the particle -ašta;<sup>18</sup> ma-a-an cond. and ma-ah-ha-an comp.

Similarities in content matter: (A.f.) a typical enumeration of high officials; (A.g.) punishment of him — be he a magnate or an ordinary soldier — who is responsible for the execution of an innocent man; (A.h.) "and it shall appertain to him (i.e. the king)".

Lexical correspondencies: huta-; ERÍN<sup>mes</sup>-(n)a- and <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>š</sup>i-š.

Among the philological evidence, the spelling na-at-ta and -te-en for the 2nd pers. plur. pret./imp.

To this, several further examples can be added, such as the occurrence of the encl. pron. poss. -šši- in [ha]-an-te-iz-zi-aš-ši-iš (i 21); the spelling šu-ú-iz-zi (iv

<sup>11</sup> A full edition of this text is presently being prepared for publication. The numbering of kings follows the scheme proposed by Gurney (1978) and Košak (1978): Tudhaliya I (of the Aleppo treaty) — Hattusili II — Tudhaliya II (with Nikalmati) — Arnuwanda I (with Ašmunikal) — Tudhaliya III — Suppiluliuma I.

<sup>12</sup> Oettinger 1976:81 f.

<sup>13</sup> Otten 1969:9.

<sup>14</sup> Houwink ten Cate 1970:62.

<sup>15</sup> Kammenhuber 1970:550 ff.; Bin-Nun 1976:19.

<sup>16</sup> Houwink ten Cate 1970:passim.

<sup>17</sup> "Directive" is used here as a term of convenience instead of the more correct "Locative", see Kammenhuber 1979.

<sup>18</sup> Josephson 1972:230 f.

5);<sup>19</sup> the medial form 1st pers. plur. pres. without -ti: e-šu-aš-ta (i 71),<sup>20</sup> -tu in e-eš-tu,<sup>21</sup> besides -du in other verbs; the use of CVC sign in e-šir (iv 8)<sup>22</sup> but -]ga-nu-uš-ki-ir (iv 9), kar-pí-ir (iv 22); the plene-spelling of a verb in -ija: wa-ag-ga-ri-i-e-it-te-en (i 27); the spelling *ni-iš* DINGIR<sup>meš</sup>.<sup>23</sup> Finally, the use and absence of glide vowels should be mentioned, although their dating value is more significant where two or more versions of the same text can be contrasted.<sup>24</sup> Also, it seems that the spelling of each individual word must be investigated on its own merits.<sup>25</sup> KBo 16:24+ uses spellings like ú-e-mi-an (i 12), [ha]-an-te-iz-zi-aš-ši-iš (i 21), ha-an-te-iz-zi-an (i 15), e-šu-aš-ta (i 71), [ap]-pí-iz-zi-aš (iii 23), Hu-uz-zi-an (iv 15), tu-uz-zi-az (i 23), but also na-ak-ki-ja-az(-) (i 10), a-ni-ja-at-te-e[n] (i 25), la-ah-hi-ja-u-wa-aš(-) (i 33), a-pí-ni-iš-šu-wa-an (iv 55).

Among lexical correspondencies, <sup>lu</sup>hujant- should be included,<sup>26</sup> another example of this word appears in KUB 13:20 i 2<sup>27</sup> and in its duplicate.<sup>28</sup> For the meaning of the word in opposition to <sup>lu</sup>pittejant- see now Kestemont 1974:605 and 618, especially in the text KUB 13:26,4 where they appear side by side, in a treaty concluded with several partners which in itself would point to an earlier age.<sup>29</sup> KUB 13:20 i 7 and 655/u share another lexical correspondence with KBo 16:24+, namely the expression *hudaš eštu*.<sup>30</sup>

As an example of similarity in content matter, one could cite the so-called "special form" of the curse formula: "him shall these divine oaths seize and him destroy together with his [house?], his wife and his children".<sup>31</sup>

In concluding one can stress that the text under investigation displays all those features typical for Middle Hittite texts. The absence of a spelling a-ap-pa / a-ap-pa-an besides EGIR-pa / EGIR-an is curious; nevertheless, it cannot be taken as a dating criterion in isolation. Another isolated case is the rare spelling of <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>ši</sup> with the phonetic complement on which Kammenhuber<sup>32</sup> hinges her dating of the text to Suppiluliuma I. The spelling with a phonetic complement has often been pointed out<sup>33</sup> but a spelling <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>ši</sup>-iš, <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>ši</sup>-in must not be separated from other spellings with a complement such as <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>ši</sup>-mi in VBoT 1,3 and in KUB 8:81 iii 2, both of which are undoubtedly Middle Hittite.<sup>34</sup> The interchange of phonetic and logographic spelling is, of course, an important guideline but it is by no means obligatory. The consistent employment of undoubtedly Middle Hittite characteristics throughout the text KBo 16:24+ places it clearly among the Middle Hittite corpus. But this still does not alter

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Starke 1977:36 f.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Oettinger 1976:28 f.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Otten 1969:14.

<sup>22</sup> Houwink ten Cate 1970:50.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Neu-Rüster 1973:228 with n. 21; Oettinger 1976:28 and n. 26 f.

<sup>24</sup> Neu 1970:53; Neu-Rüster 1973:228 and n. 16.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Oettinger 1976:27, comment. on i 34.

<sup>26</sup> Otten 1969:17.

<sup>27</sup> Alp 1947:413.

<sup>28</sup> Otten-Rüster 1972:104.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Oettinger 1976:84.

<sup>30</sup> See above and Houwink ten Cate 1970:27; Kühne-Otten 1971:47.

<sup>31</sup> For a detailed analysis of this formula see Oettinger 1976:76-85.

<sup>32</sup> Kammenhuber 1970:551.

<sup>33</sup> Goetze 1957:137; Kronasser 1963:126 and 252 n. 1; Carruba 1968:232 n. 22; Kempinski-Kořak 1970:201 f. and n. 21.

<sup>34</sup> KUB 8:81 is quoted by Laroche CTH 41.ii as part of Suppiluliuma's treaty with Šunaššura, although it is in fact an earlier treaty with Šunaššura I; see Houwink ten Cate 1970:5 and n. 17.

the problem outlined at the outset and it still allows a dating between 1500–1380 B.C. Is it possible to narrow down this time span? The other problem arises here, mentioned above; the blurred transitions from Old to Middle and from Middle to Late Hittite. The former transition seems to be clearer, partly due to more marked linguistic and palaeographical features, partly thanks to several excellent studies on Old Hittite.<sup>35</sup> The latter borderline is more difficult to recognise. This should not be surprising: after all, “Middle Hittite” is only a term of convenience, embracing the ensemble of linguistic, philological and palaeographical criteria. Linguistically, there is only the distinction between “Alt- und Jung-hethitisch”.<sup>36</sup> The additional obstacle is the fact that there is as yet no unanimity on a sequence of rulers during the Middle Kingdom. In practice, this means that texts of a Tudhaliya, predecessor of Suppiluliuma I, can be assigned to one, two or even three rulers of that name and the texts of Hattusili II, if this king is recognised at all, fall either on the divide between Old and Middle Hittite, or to the time approaching Suppiluliuma I. A dating into the lower transitional period is further aggravated by the fact that at least some texts of Suppiluliuma I, notably the treaty with Hukkana, show a number of Middle Hittite features.<sup>37</sup> Clearly a sudden break is not to be expected. What is needed now is a detailed analysis of all texts between Arnuwanda I and including those of Suppiluliuma I. The problem, outlined here, has an immediate bearing on KBo 16:24+. Houwink ten Cate<sup>38</sup> gives no reason for his dating of the text to “a later Tudhaliya”. As this can only be Tudhaliya III, the immediate predecessor of Suppiluliuma I, one would expect KBo 16:24+ to be philologically very close to the Hukkana treaty, considered to be the earliest treaty of Suppiluliuma I.<sup>39</sup> A comparison of both texts, using Houwink ten Cate’s columns B and D, shows that KBo 16:24+ is more consistent in its use of Middle Hittite characteristics.

Apart from the absence of the sign *ten* in the 2nd pers. plur. pret./imp., the most significant features are those reflecting the changes of the language system: the Hukkana treaty begins to level the verbs on -ija- (iezzi/ijazzi) into a uniform paradigm while KBo 16:24+ still preserves the correct reflexes of the Indo-European thematic vowel. If compared to an older text, such as KBo 15:10, many more common features are shared (even including the negative evidence of the absence of a-ap-pa in favour of EGIR-pa) and although one cannot compare them statistically because of their different lengths, state of preservation and contents, the corresponding features make a more even impression.

As a result, there are no grounds why KBo 16:24+ could not be dated to the beginning of the Middle Hittite period and there is no evidence for dating it later than Arnuwanda I, while a dating to Suppiluliuma I would need some stretching and is highly improbable.

Ad II. In examining the palaeography, the text has the clear appearance of

<sup>35</sup> Otten-Souček 1968; Neu 1970; Neu 1974.

<sup>36</sup> Friedrich-Kammenhuber 1975:9/12.

<sup>37</sup> How real is this problem is discernable from contradictory statements categorizing texts of Suppiluliuma I. E.g., Kühne-Otten 1971:47, claim that Kammenhuber 1970:550 recognizes KBo 16:24+ as Middle Hittite. Since she is quite categorical about its dating to Suppiluliuma I, it follows that Kühne and Otten include Suppiluliuma I to the Middle Hittite period. Contrary to this stands e.g. Starke 1977:190 f. with reasoning which implies that if a text belongs to Suppiluliuma I, it must therefore be Late Hittite.

<sup>38</sup> Houwink ten Cate 1970:62.

<sup>39</sup> Oettinger 1976:84.

the Middle Hittite ductus and is identical to the signs given by Rüster (1972) in her column v, i.e. KBo 16:47, a Middle Hittite treaty. The same ductus can be found in KBo 5:7 (the land deed of Arnuwanda I, CTH 223) as well as in KBo 15:10 (Tudhaliya II, CTH 443). Furthermore, the same ductus is consistently used in all texts belonging to the so-called "protocols on the dynastic succession" (CTH 271). While a detailed analysis of palaeographical characteristics of the texts belonging to the period of Suppiluliuma I remains a desideratum of primary importance and may be expected to be undertaken by the Marburg school, a superficial glance through these texts indicates that not a single text shows the same consistency as does KBo 16:24+. Prof. Gurney's first impression,<sup>40</sup> that many texts of Suppiluliuma's reign have nothing but early forms, can perhaps be modified. To take only a few examples mentioned by him, the distribution of forms appears as in table I.

Other texts of Suppiluliuma, such as KBo 19:49 and 53 (CTH 40, but written in the 1st pers. sing.), KUB 19:25+26 (CTH 44), KUB 10:12+ (CTH 49), KUB 19:27 (CTH 50), KUB 21:18 (CTH 51), KUB 8:80 (CTH 52), KUB 21:41 (CTH 253) and KUB 21:47 and KUB 40:61 (CTH 268), they all have a mixture of earlier and later forms in varying ratios.

The only texts listed in Laroche's *Catalogue* as belonging to Suppiluliuma I and showing exclusively early signs, are KUB 8:81 and KBo 19:39 (CTH 41.ii), thus corroborating philological evidence for a dating to Sunassura I.<sup>41</sup>

If philological criteria still allow a degree of ambiguity, the palaeographical evidence appears to be pointing unequivocally to the conclusion that KBo 16:24+ cannot be a text of Suppiluliuma I and reaffirms its dating to the reigns of Tudhaliya II or Arnuwanda I.

Ad III. Finally, clues for dating may be found in the context of the text itself. With the text in question, these are obviously by no means reliable, as different datings of the text by various scholars indicate only too clearly.

Brief outlines of the text were already given by Oettinger<sup>42</sup> and Bin-Nun,<sup>43</sup> the latter being interpreted in a rather contrived way. The list of gods who are called to witness the oath at the end of the tablet reveals it as a treaty. The "special form" of the curse formula, as well as the general regulations, point in the same direction. Certain passages are parallel to the instructions CTH 258, which led Otten<sup>44</sup> to the natural conclusion that both texts belong together. Kammenhuber<sup>45</sup> subsequently pointed out that regulations in treaties and instructions are often copied verbatim in other texts of similar nature and therefore parallel passages need not mean duplicate versions of the same text.

The only concrete foothold in our text is col. iv 14–26, recently published by Carruba,<sup>46</sup> with its reference to the assassination of Huzziya by Muwattalli which links this text with the group of fragmentary texts known as "protocols on the dynastic succession" (CTH 271). It is very difficult to establish the identity of these people: Huzziya is, according to Kammenhuber,<sup>47</sup> "ein Dutzendname", and we know of an "older Muwattalli" who was GAL *mešedi* under Arnuwanda

<sup>40</sup> Gurney 1977:200.

<sup>41</sup> See above, n. 34.

<sup>42</sup> Oettinger 1976:82.

<sup>43</sup> Bin-Nun 1973:19.

<sup>44</sup> Otten-Güterbock 1968:v.

<sup>45</sup> Kammenhuber 1970:551.

<sup>46</sup> Carruba 1977:182 f.

<sup>47</sup> Kammenhuber 1970:551.



I<sup>48</sup> but it is difficult to assert at this stage whether he was identical with our Muwattalli.

On the other hand, it is known from another source, KUB 34:40, that Muwattalli was in his turn assassinated by Himuili and Kantuzzili. These two figure prominently in most texts concerning the "dynastic succession" and allegiance is sworn to them, e.g. in KUB 36:114.<sup>49</sup> In KUB 36:118, Kantuzzili is further linked with Pariyawatra, in KUB 34:58 with Pariyawatra and Tulpi-Tešub. And finally, the latter two appear in the ritual for the goddess NIN.GAL together with the queen, Manninni and "the Priest",<sup>50</sup> thus closing the circle. The four princes are called IBILA = DUMU.NITA and DUMU.LUGAL and were most probably brothers. In this case, Himuili would belong to another family. Now it is reasonable to assume that the ritual for NIN.GAL was performed by a queen whose very name shows that NIN.GAL was her patron goddess, i.e. either Nikalmati or Ašmunikal. Bin-Nun<sup>51</sup> ruled out Ašmunikal since her sons could not be royal princes as she was not married to her brother Arnuwanda I. This means that the four princes were the sons of Tudhaliya II and Nikalmati. Prof. Gurney has recently<sup>52</sup> indicated that Tulpi-Tešub was the grandson of Hattusili II and that he may be even identified with Arnuwanda I. Since all these texts reflect the same events, one can assume that they were happening before Tulpi-Tešub assumed his official name, i.e. before he became king. The exact circumstances of the feuds between competing princes and their families as well as the court hearings presumably connected with these plots (KUB 34:40, KBo 16:25<sup>53</sup>) are still far from clear and for our scope not strictly relevant. What is important is that it shows that the events around the struggles for the dynastic succession could not have taken place after Arnuwanda I and more probably happened before his reign. Applied to KBo 16:24+, this would mean that the <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>š</sup>i of the text was possibly Arnuwanda I or, more likely, Tudhaliya II. This conclusion is in accordance with the philological and palaeographical evidence established for this text above. Moreover, the text reaches one generation back: Muwattalli murdered Huzziya during the reign of Majesty's father (*abi* <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>š</sup>i) who was accordingly either Tudhaliya II or, more likely, Hattusili II.

It was accepted for a long time that the edict of Telipinu brought to a stop the murderous strife for royal succession which characterised the Old Kingdom from Mursili I onwards. So strong was this conviction that the only serious breach of Telipinu's edict was thought to be the usurping of the throne by Hattusili III who had to justify his constitutional crime by his *Apology*.<sup>54</sup> Only the "dark age" of the predecessors of Suppiluliuma I was murky enough to accommodate the quarrels over the succession in the period between Telipinu and Hattusili III. The discovery of the king Tahurwaili who usurped the throne after Telipinu<sup>55</sup> has shown that Telipinu's regulations for the succession were disregarded soon after they had been proclaimed. Also, the authority of the edict in later periods is much lessened by the fact that the great text of Hattusili

<sup>48</sup> Bin-Nun 1973:10.

<sup>49</sup> See Carruba 1977:188 ff.

<sup>50</sup> Otten 1951:55 n. 7.

<sup>51</sup> Bin-Nun 1975:265.

<sup>52</sup> Gurney 1978.

<sup>53</sup> The verb *šarlai-* (iv 13 f.) is mainly used in legal context "to prevail (in a case), to be acquitted?".

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Otten 1966:160 f.; Gurney 1972:175.

<sup>55</sup> Bin-Nun 1974.



III was not an apology but a land deed, written long after Hattusili III ascended the throne.<sup>56</sup>

It was argued elsewhere<sup>57</sup> that the "protocols on the dynastic succession" fit best in the period between Telipinu and Tudhaliya II, an observation already made by Sommer.<sup>58</sup> This was the period of rivalling candidates for the throne, for which many details still have to be pieced together. A salient point in this period of dynastic struggles is the role of the *pankuš* which still appears to perform its function of an arbitrator as in the edict of Telipinu. The *pankuš* appears in KUB 36:109, KUB 36:114 and probably also in KBo 16:25 ii 63.<sup>59</sup>

Another feature which indicates that the mechanism for succession devised by Telpinu did not work automatically and smoothly is the institution of anointment. Its function is still not clear<sup>60</sup> but its purpose seems to be to designate the rightful king or to nominate him for co-regency (KUB 36:109, KUB 36:119) and his nomination had to be confirmed by the people of Hattusa and the *pankuš* of Hattusa, a phrase strongly reminiscent of the later *senatus populusque Romanus*. These two constitutional devices would be far more surprising in the period shortly before Suppiluliuma I but seem well in place in the time after Telipinu.

Consequently, the text KBo 16:24+ could be dated to this early period at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom on historical grounds alone. The test using philological and palaeographical evidence gives the same result. These criteria were applied independently from each other and so avoided the danger of a circular argument. From this, we can conclude that the criteria for dating Hittite texts which were developed during the last decade can and must be further improved in their details but there can be no doubt of their overall validity.

P.S. After this article was completed, two more works appeared, dealing with similar problems: F. Imparati, "Une reine de Hatti vénère la déesse Ningal", *Florilegium Anatolicum*, Paris 1979, 169–176, who confirms our dating of the ritual for NIN.GAL to the queen Nikalmati, and E. Neu, "Zum sprachlichen Alter des Hukkana-Vertrages", *KZ* 93, 1979, 64–84, who defines the transition from Middle to Empire Hittite and sets it in the first decades of the 14th century B.C., i.e. during the initial period of Suppiluliuma's reign. This latter reference was kindly pointed out by Prof. H. Otten.

P.P.S. While this article was in press two more relevant works were published: S. Heinhold-Krahmer *et al.*: *Probleme der Textdatierung in der Hethitologie*. (THeth 9). Heidelberg, 1979; and, F. Pecchioli Daddi, "A proposito di KBo XVI 24 (+) 25", *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Ser. 8, Rendiconti, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 34, 1979, 51–55, both dating the text in question to Suppiluliuma I.

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<sup>56</sup> Cancik 1976:43 and n. 139 f. For a more traditional view, see Hoffner 1975.

<sup>57</sup> Košak 1978.

<sup>58</sup> Sommer 1953:15.

<sup>59</sup> Because of the broken context, the expression *pankuš Hattušaš* is ambiguous and can mean either "the whole of Hattusa" or "the *pankuš* of Hattusa".

<sup>60</sup> Kümmel 1967:44 f.

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# AN ADDITION TO THE PRAYER OF MURSILI TO THE SUNGODDESS AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

By HANS G. GÜTERBOCK

It is now forty years since Oliver Gurney published his dissertation entitled "Hittite Prayers of Mursili II"<sup>1</sup>. His careful analysis of the texts as well as his translation have stood the test of time admirably. While writing, Gurney learned about the prayers to the Sungod which had been found in the 1930s, but their publication came too late for inclusion in his work.<sup>2</sup> Since then much has been written about these recent finds and their relation to the texts of Mursili.<sup>3</sup> On this happy occasion I want to offer to my friend a hitherto unpublished fragment which forms part of the prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna (KUB 24.3), completing the beginning of column ii. It was H. Otten who recognized it as belonging to that tablet; he must have communicated this fact to E. Laroche, who included it as 544/u under nr. 376, A, in the second edition (1971) of his *Catalogue des textes hittites* (CTH). But Otten has not so far published the fragment, in contrast to additions to other solar

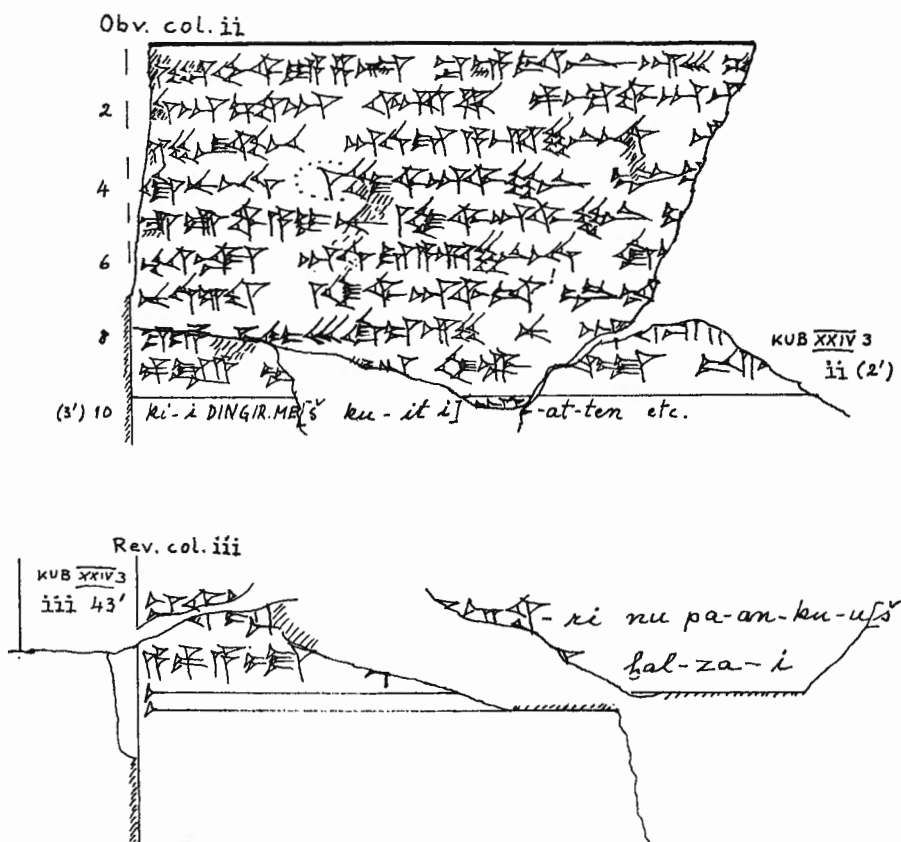


Fig. 1. 544/u with joining lines of KUB 24.3.

<sup>1</sup> O. R. Gurney, "Hittite Prayers of Mursili II," *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 27 (Liverpool, 1940).

<sup>2</sup> See Gurney, op. cit. pp. 10 and 83.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, *Numen* 16 (1969) 88; idem, *The Records of the Early Hittite Empire* (1970), 33-35.

hymns which we are using below. I shall first offer a hand copy of 544/u made after a photograph. The fragment comes from the Great Temple at Boğazköy and thus establishes the provenience of the tablet KUB 24.3. A transliteration and translation will be given below as part of a comparative rendering of the various hymns to solar deities.<sup>4</sup>

In the past I only said that Muršili's prayer contained (almost) verbatim quotations from the other hymn(s) and that according to the available space the quotation must have been shortened, but I failed to go into detail, although some of the omissions could already be observed.<sup>5</sup> Now the restoration of Muršili's prayer contains the end of its hymnic part and thus gives an opportunity to compare the various hymns in detail.<sup>6</sup>

In presenting the wording of the Sun Hymns I differ from Laroche's listing in CTH by regrouping some of the smaller duplicates as follows:

372: A = KUB 31.127 with additions as shown in CTH. New Hittite script (NS).

From Büyükkale, Building A.

B = KUB 31.128 // A i 1-13. NS; same provenience.

D' = KUB 31.133 // A i 20-45. NS; same provenience.

374.1 = KUB 30.11 + 31.135 (+) 130. Middle Hittite script (MS).

From Büyükkale, Building A.

2,A = KUB 36.75 + Bo 4696 (ZA 62, 231 f.) + 1226/u (ZA 67,56).

From Temple I.

B = KBo 22.75 + 1698/u + 221/w (ZA 64,217) // A ii. NS. From Tpl.I.

C = KUB 31.134 // A i 6'-16' (and 372 A i 29-37). From BK, Bldg.A.

3 = KUB 31.129, parall. in A and B not preserved (// 372 A 13-18).

MS. From BK. Bldg A.

Repeated collations showed that (contrary to JAOS 78, 238, n. 13) Laroche's copies C, D, and E of 372 are not part of one and the same tablet, that D is in NS while C and E are in MS. The latter two (Laroche's 372, C, E, our 374.2, C and 3) have the same handwriting but different colour. KUB 31.134 uses the first person singular and therefore belongs to 374, not 372 (here 374.2, C).<sup>8</sup> As for KUB 31.129, it may be part of the same tablet, if the difference in colour is accidental; since it has no preserved parallel in 374.2 I prefer calling it 374.3. Note that Otten's 374.3 (ZA 64, 217) is here 2, B.—KUB 31.133, on the other hand, goes with 374 in sections 14 and 18 below, but with 372 in section 19; I therefore kept it under 372.

For the sake of convenience I divided the hymns into sections which do not necessarily coincide with the paragraphs marked by rules on the tablets.<sup>9</sup> Each section contains two or three clauses devoted to one theme. One might speak of "stanzas" composed of two or three "verses", but I refrain from using these technical terms.

In the translation I have chosen the less pretentious "you" for the pronoun of the second person singular rather than the archaizing "thou"; I also disregarded the difference between the real vocative and the appositional nominative, etc. (as elaborated in JAOS 65, 1945, 252-55) and translated both constructions as address. In some cases I may have

<sup>4</sup> Translations only were given by the present author in *Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft*, Vol. I: *Altorientalische Literaturen*, ed. by W. Röllig (Wiesbaden, Athenaion, 1978) (abbr. HbLit.), p. 230; *The Frontiers of Human Knowledge*: Lectures held at the Quincentenary Celebration of Uppsala University 1977 (1978) (abbr. *Frontiers*), p. 136 with n. 26.

<sup>5</sup> JAOS 78 (1958) 244; HbLit. 230 with n. 51; *Frontiers* 135.

<sup>6</sup> Comparison of the older prayers among themselves, without that of Muršili, is the subject of an article by M. Marazzi and H. Nowicki (Würzburg), "Vorarbeiten zu den hethitischen Gebeten (CTH 372, 373, 374)," *Oriens Antiquus* 17 (1978), 257-278.

<sup>7</sup> I keep this siglum so as to avoid confusion. For my reason for keeping this fragment under 372 see presently. Laroche's copies C and E are here assigned to 374; his F and G are duplicates to A col. iv and thus not needed here.

<sup>8</sup> See JAOS 78, 242, n. 27. This attribution was not noted by the authors of *OrAnt.* 17, 263.

<sup>9</sup> They differ from tablet to tablet; see the rendering in JAOS 78, 239-241.

chosen a translation arbitrarily, since this is not the place for detailed discussion (e.g., *handant-* vs. *parā handant-* or the exact meanings of *kurimma-* and *wannummiya-*).

In Muršili's prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna the hymn begins with the following lines, which have no parallel in the older sun hymns but recur in the prayer to Telipinu:<sup>10</sup>

You, oh Sungoddess of Arinna, are an honoured deity.

Your name is honoured among names,

and your godhead is honoured among godheads.

Among the gods you alone, oh Sungoddess of Arinna, are honoured.

Great are you, oh Sungoddess of Arinna,

and there is no other god more honoured or greater than you.

The Great Sun Hymn (CTH 372) begins with a simple address to the god; the parallel with the prayer of Muršili begins after that. The other versions become available only later.

- (1)
- 372 (i 1) 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 *iš-ḫa-mi*  
Oh Sungod, my lord!  
*ḫa-an-da(-a)-an-za ḫa-an-ni-eš-na-aš* (2) *iš-ḫa-aš*  
Just lord of judgment!
- 376 (i 34) *ḫa-an-ta-an-da-ša-az* (35) [*ḫa-a*] *n-ni-eš-na-aš EN-aš zi-ik-pát*  
You alone are the lord of just judgment.
- (2)
- 372 (2) *ne-pi-ša-aš da-a-ga-zi-pa-aš-ša* (B: *ták-na-aš-ša*) LUGAL-*u-e*  
(3) KUR-*e* (B: *ut-ne[-e]*) *zi-ik du-ud-du-uš-ki-ši*  
Oh king of heaven and earth!  
You are ruling the lands.
- 376 (35) *ne-pi-ša-aš-ša* (36) [*ták-na-a*] *š-ša LUGAL-u-iz-na-tar zi-ik-pát du-ud-du-uš-ki-ši*  
And only you are controlling the kingship of heaven and earth.
- (3)
- 372,A (3) *tar-ḫu-u-i-la-tar* (4) *zi-ik-pát pé-eš-ki-ši*  
*zi-ik-pát ḫa-an-da-an-za* (5) DINGIR-*uš*  
*ge-en-zu-ú da-aš-ki-ši zi-ik-pát*  
You alone are giving strength,  
you alone are a just god,  
you alone are having mercy.
- B (3) *ir-ḫu-ú-ša-kán zi-ik-pát zi-i[k-ki-ši]*  
[. . .] (4) DINGIR-*uš ḫu-iš-nu-uš-ki-ši*  
The boundaries only you set,  
[you, a just(?) god, are preserving life.
- 376 (37) [KUR.KUR.M] *EŠ-a[š]-kán ZAG.ḪLA-uš zi-ik-pat zi-ik-ki-ši*  
The boundaries of the countries only you set.
- (4)
- 372 (A 6) *mu-ga-a-u-wa-ar zi-ik-pát e-eš-ša-at-ti* (B: *iš-ta-ma-aš-ki-ši*)  
Only you fulfil (var.: listen to) the prayers.
- 376 (38) [*mu-g*] *a-u-wa-ar-ra zi-ik-pát iš-ta-ma-aš-ki-ši*  
And only you listen to the prayers.

<sup>10</sup> Gurney, AAA 27, 20: "Hymn of Praise" (a) To Telipinu, (KUB 24.1) ii 20–22, and p. 22; (b) To Sun-goddess of Arinna, (KUB 24.3) i, 29–34; also translated by Goetze, *Kleinasien*, 2d. ed. (1957) 136; Güterbock, *Frontiers* 135.



- (5)
- 372 (7) *zi-ik-pát ge-en-zu-wa-la-aš* <sup>DUTU-uš</sup>  
 (8) *nu ge-en-zu zi-ik-pát da-aš-ki-ši* (B omits *nu*)  
 You alone are merciful, oh Sungod,  
 and only you have mercy.
- 376 (39) [*zi-i*] *k-pát-za* <sup>DUTU URU</sup> *A-ri-in-na gi-in-zu-wa-la-aš* <sup>DINGIR-LUM</sup> *zi-ik*  
 (40) [*nu*] *gi-in-zu zi-ik-pát da-aš-ki-ši*  
 You, oh Sungoddess of Arinna, are a merciful goddess,  
 and only you have mercy.
- (6)
- 372 (8) *ha-an-da(-a)-an-za-kán* (9) *an-tu-uh-ša-aš* (B: *an-tu-wa-ah-ḫa*[-*aš*])  
*tu-uk-pát a-aš-šu-uš*  
*na-an zi-ik-pát* (10) *šar-li-iš-ki-ši*  
 The righteous person is dear to you,  
 and you let him prevail.
- 376 (40) *pa-ra-a ha-an-da-an-za-ša-kán* (41) *an-tu-uh-wa-ah-ḫa-aš tu-uk-pát*  
<sup>A-NA</sup> <sup>DUTU URU</sup> *A-ri-in-na aš-ši-ia-an-za*  
 (42) *na-an zi-ik-pát* <sup>DUTU URU</sup> *A-ri-in-na [ša]r-le-eš-ki-ši*  
 The person guided in righteousness is dear (lit.: loved) to you, oh  
 Sungoddess of Arinna,  
 and you, oh Sungoddess of Arinna, let him prevail.
- (7)
- 372 (10) <sup>DUTU-uš</sup> *šu-wa-ru ma-ia-an-za* (11) <sup>DUMU</sup> <sup>DNIN.GAL</sup>  
*za-ma-kur-te-et ŠA NA<sub>4</sub>.ZA.GÌN-aš*  
 Oh Sungod, you are truly the grown-up son of Ningal!  
 Your beard is of lapislazuli.
- 376 omits.
- (8)
- 372 (12) *ka-a-[š]a-at-ta* <sup>DUMU.LÚ.U<sub>19</sub></sup> *LU-aš* <sup>IR(!)-KA</sup> (13) *a-ru-wa-a[-it]*  
*nu-ut-ta me-mi-iš-ki-iz-zi*  
 Behold, the son of mankind, your servant, bowed to you  
 and speaks to you.
- 374.3<sup>11</sup> (1') [*. . . a-ru-wa-a*]-*nu-un nu* [*. . .*]  
 I [the king(?), bow]ed [to you]  
 and [speak to you].
- 376 omits.
- (9)
- 372 (14) *ne-pí-š[a-aš] ták-na-aš-ša hu-u-la-le-eš-ni zi-ik-pát*  
 (15) <sup>DUTU-uš</sup> [*la*]<sup>Γ</sup>-<sup>Λ</sup>*lu-ki-ma-aš*
- 374.3 (2') [*. . . . .*] *ták-na-a-aš-ša* [*. . .*] (3') [*zi-ik-pát*] <sup>DUTU-uš</sup> *la-lu*[-*. . .*]
- 376 (43) *ne-pí-ša-aš-ša-az ták-na-aš-ša hu-u-la-le-eš-ni* (44) *zi-ik-pát* <sup>DUTU</sup>  
<sup>URU</sup> *A-ri-in-na la-lu-uk-ki-ma-aš*  
 In the circumference of heaven and earth you, oh Sungod/Sungoddess  
 of Arinna are the source of light.

<sup>11</sup> KUB 31.129.

(10)

- 372 (15) <sup>D</sup>UTU-*e* *šar-ku-i* LUGAL-*u-e* (16) DUMU <sup>D</sup>NIN.GAL  
*ut-ni-ia-an-da-aš ša-ak-la-in* (17) *iš-ḫi-ú-ul zi-ik-pát ḫa-an-te-iš-ki-ši*  
<sup>D</sup>UTU (18) *šar-ku* LUGAL-*u-e*
- 374.1<sup>12</sup> (1') [ . . . . . ] DUMU <sup>D</sup>NIN.GAL<sup>1</sup>  
*[utniyaš(?) iš-ḫi-ú-ul š[a-ak-l]a-ḫi[-in]* (2') *[zikpat <sup>D</sup>UTU-uš(?)*  
*ḫa-an-t]e-eš-ki-ši*
- 374.3 (4') [<sup>D</sup>UTU]<sup>1</sup>-*e*<sup>1</sup> *šar-ku* LUGAL-*u-e* [ . . . ]  
 (5') *[iš-ḫi(-ú?)]-ul ša-ak-l[i-in zikpat]* (6') [<sup>D</sup>UTU-*u*]*š ḫa-an-te-es-ki[-ši]*  
 Oh Sungod, mighty king, son of Ningal!  
 The law and customs of the lands you establish, Sungod, (mighty king).

376 omits.

(11)

- 372 (18) DINGIR.MEŠ-*na-aš-kán iš<-tar>-na zi-ik-pát* (19) *aš-nu-an-za*  
 Among the gods only you are widely worshipped.
- 374.1 (2') *na-aš-ta KUR<sup>1</sup>-ia<sup>1</sup> iš-tar-na* (3') [ . . . *aš(-ša?)-nu*]-*wa-an-za <sup>D</sup>UTU-uš*  
 DINGIR-*uš zi-ik*
- 374.3 (6') [ . . . ] (7') *[iš-tar-n]a zi-ik-pát [ . . . . . ]*  
 Throughout the country you, oh Sungod, are a widely worshipped god.
- 376 (45) KUR.KUR.ḪIA-*ša-za-kán iš-tar-na zi-ik-pát aš-ša[-nu-w]a-an-za* DINGIR-  
 LIM-*iš*  
 And throughout the countries only you are a widely worshipped goddess.

(12)

- 372 (19) *da-a-aš-šu iš-ḫ[i-i]š-ša tu-uk-pát pí-ia-an*  
 (20)<sup>13</sup> *ḫa-an-da-a-an-za ma-ni-ia[-aḫ]-ḫa-ia-aš iš-ḫa-a-aš zi-ik*
- 374.1 (4') [*daššu išḫišša(?) tu*]-*uk-pát <sup>D</sup>UTU-i pí-ia-an*  
*ḫa-an-da-an-za* (5') [ . . . (shorter!)]  
 Strong lordship is given to you (oh Sungod),  
 you are the just overlord of government.

376 omits.

(13)

- 372 (21) *da-an-ku-wa-ia-aš KUR-e[-aš] at-ta-aš an-na-aš zi-ik*  
 You are father and mother to the "dark" countries.
- 374.1 (5') [ . . . (?) KUR]<sup>1</sup>-*e<sup>1</sup>-aš ḫu-u-ma-an-da-aš at-ta-aš an-na-aš zi-ik*
- 376 (46) *nu-za KUR-e-aš ḫu-u-ma-an-da-aš at-ta-aš an-na-aš zi-ik*  
 You are father and mother to all the countries.

(14)

- 372 (22) <sup>D</sup>UTU-*i* GAL-*li* LUGAL-*u-e*  
<sup>D</sup>EN.LÍL-*aš at-ta-aš-t[e-e]š KUR-e* (23) 4 *ḫal-ḫal-du-ma-ri ki-iš-ri-it-ti* (D:  
*[k]i-iš-ša[-. . .] t[i-i]a-an ḫar-zi*
- 374.1 (6') [<sup>D</sup>EN.LÍL-*aš attaišš KUR*]<sup>1</sup>-*e<sup>1</sup> 4 ḫal-ḫal-tu-u-mar tu-uk-pát ki-iš-ša-ri-it-ti*  
 (7') [ . . . ]  
 Oh Sungod, great king (omitted in 374.1)  
 Your father Enlil has put the four corners of the land into your hand.

376 omits.

<sup>12</sup> KUB 31.130 obverse.<sup>13</sup> 372, D = KUB 31.133 begins.

- (15)
- 372 (24) *ha-an-ni-eš-na-aš iš-ha-a-aš zi-ik*  
*nu ha-an-ni-eš-na-aš pé-e-di* (25) *da-ri-ia-aš-ha-aš-ti-iš* NU GÁL
- 374.1 (7-8) same as 372  
 You are the lord of judgment,  
 and in the place of judgment there is no tiring of you.
- 376 (47) *ha-an-ni-eš-na-ša-az pa-ra-a ha-an-da-an-za* EN-aš *zi-ik*  
 (48) *nu-ut-ta ha-an-ni-eš-na-aš pé-di tar-ri-ia-aš-ha-aš* NU GÁL  
 You are the divinely guided lord of judgment,  
 and in the place of judgment there is no tiring of you.
- (16)
- 372 (25) *ka-ru-ú-i-li-ia-aš-ša-kán* (26) DINGIR.MEŠ-na-aš *iš-tar-na* DUTU-uš  
*šar-ku-uš*
- 374.1 (8') *ka-ru[-. . . (gap)]*
- 374.2,A<sup>14</sup> (1') [. . . . . i]š-tar-na (2') [. . . šar-ku-u]š(!?)  
 Also among the Former Gods you, oh Sungod, are mighty.
- 376 (49) *ka-ru-ú-i-li-ia-ša-za-kán* DINGIR.MEŠ-aš *iš-tar-na zi-ik-pát* (50) *aš-ša-nu-wa-an-za*  
 Also among the Former Gods only you are worshipped.
- (17)
- 372 (26) DINGIR.MEŠ-aš-ša-an SÍSKUR (27) *zi-ik-pát z[(i-ik-ki-š)]i* (D 8)  
*ka-ru-ú-i-li-ia-aš-ša-an* (28) [DINGIR.M]EŠ-na-aš HA.LA[-ŠU-NU *z[(i-ik-ki-š)]i*  
*pát zi-ik-ki-š*
- 374.2,A (3') [. . . . . *zi-ik*]-pát DUTU-uš (4') [*zikkīš*]  
 [*ka-ru-ú-i-li-ia-ša-aš-ša-an* (5') [DINGIR.MEŠ-na-aš HA.LA-Š]U-NU *zi-ik-ki-š*  
*pát zi-ik-ki-š*
- 376 (50) DINGIR.MEŠ-na-aš-ša-aš-ša-an SÍSKUR.HI.A *zi-ik-pát* (26) DUTU URU A-ri-in-na *zi-ik-ki-š*  
*ka-ru-ú-i-li-ia-aš-ša-aš-ša-an* DINGIR.MEŠ-na-aš HA.LA.ŠU-NU *zi-ik-pát zi-ik-ki-š*  
 To the gods you alone (oh Sungod/Sungoddess of Arinna) allot the sacrifices,  
 and to the Former Gods only you allot their share.
- (18)
- 372 (29) [(ne-p)]i-ša-aš GIŠIG<sup>1</sup> *a-ap-pa tu-uk-pát* DUTU-i *ha-aš-kán-zi*  
 (30) *n[(u-kán n)]e-pi-ša-aš KÁ-aš zi-ik-pát aš-ša-nu-wa-an-za* DUTU-uš (31)  
*šar-re-eš-ki-ši* (D:[ša]r-ra-aš-ki-it-ta)
- 374.2,A<sup>15</sup> (6') [*nepišaš*] GIŠIG *a-ap-pa tu-uk-pát* DUTU-i (7') [*haškan-z*]i  
*na-aš-ta ne-pi-ša-aš KÁ-uš zi-ik-pát* (8') [*aš-ša-nu-wa-an-za* DUTU-uš  
*šar-ra-aš-ki-it-ta*
- 376 (53) [*ne-p*]i-ša-aš-ša[-aš] GIŠIG EGIR-pa *tu-uk-pát ha-aš-kán-zi*  
 (54) [*nu(-za?)-ká*]n OR: [*na-aš-ta*]n<sup>1</sup> *ne-p*[i-ša-a]š KÁ-uš *zi-ik-pát*  
*aš-ša-nu-wa-an-za* (55) [DUTU URU A-ri-in-na ša]r-ri-iš-ki-it-ta  
 The door leaves of heaven they throw back only for you, oh Sungod,  
 and only you, widely worshipped Sungod/Sungoddess of Arinna, cross  
 the gate of heaven.

<sup>14</sup> KUB 36.75 col. i + Bo 4696, H. Otten—C. Rüster, ZA 62 (1972), 231 f.

<sup>15</sup> Duplicate C = KUB 31.134 begins.

(19)

- 372 (32) *nu ne-pí-ša-aš* DINGIR.MEŠ-eš *tu-uk-pát* (D 12 adds: <sup>DUTU-i</sup>) *kat-ta-an ka-ni-na-an-te-eš*  
 (33) *ták-na-aš-ša* DINGIR.MEŠ-eš *tu-uk-pát kat-ta-an ka-ni-na-an-te-eš*  
 (D:[<sup>DUTU</sup>]<sup>7</sup> KI.MIN)  
 The gods of heaven bow down only to you (oh Sungod),  
 and the gods of the earth bow down only to you ([oh Sung]od).  
 274.2,A (9') [*nu ne*]-*pí-ša-aš* *ták-na-a-aš-ša* DINGIR.MEŠ-eš *tu-uk-pát* (10) [<sup>DUTU</sup>]-*i kat-ta-an ka-ne-na-an-te-eš*  
 374.1<sup>16</sup> (2'') [*nu nepišaš taknaš-š*]a DINGIR.MEŠ-eš *tu-[uk-pát . . .]*  
 376 (55) *ne-pí-ša-aš-ša* (56) [*taknašša* DINGIR.MEŠ *tu-u*]-*k-pát A-NA* <sup>DUTU</sup> <sup>URU</sup>A-*ri-in-na* (56) [. . .]  
 And the gods of heaven and earth bow down only to you, oh Sungod/  
 Sungoddess of Arinna.

(20)

- 372 (33) *ku-it-ta* (34) <sup>DUTU-uš</sup> *me-mi-iš-[k]i-ši*  
 DINGIR.MEŠ-ša *a-ap-pa tu-uk(!)-pát(!) a-ru-ú-e-eš-kán-zi*  
 374.2,A (11) [*ku-i*]-*ta* <sup>DUTU-uš</sup> *me-mi-iš-ki-ši*  
 DINGIR.MEŠ-ša (12') *a-ap-pa tu-uk* [(<sup>DUTU-i</sup>)] *a-ru-ú-iš-kán-zi* (C: *a-ru-e-eš-kán-zi*)  
 374.1 (3'') [*kuitta* <sup>DUTU-uš</sup> *memiški-š*]i DINGIR.MEŠ-ša *a-ap-pa t[u-uk . . .]*  
 376 (57) [. . .]-<sup>x-x</sup> <sup>DUTU</sup> <sup>URU</sup>A-*ri-in-na me-mi-eš-ki-ši*  
 (58) [. . . A-NA <sup>DUTU</sup> <sup>URU</sup>A-*ri-i*]n-na *a-ru-ú-i-iš*<sup>7</sup>[-*kán-zi*]  
 Whatever you, oh Sungod/Sungoddess of Arinna say,  
 the gods fall down before you, oh Sungod/Sungoddess of Arinna.

(21)

- 372 (35) <sup>DUTU-uš</sup> *dam-me-iš-ḫa-an-da-aš ku-ri-im-ma-aš-ša an-tu-uḫ-ḫa-aš* (36)  
*at-ta-aš an-na-aš zi-ik*  
*ku-ri-im-[m]a-aš dam-m[i-i]š-ḫa-an-da-aš* (37) *an-tu-uḫ-ša-aš kat-ta-wa-a-tar zi-ik-pát* (38) *šar-ni-in-ki-iš-ki-ši*  
 374.2,A (13) <sup>DUTU-uš</sup> *ku-ri-i[m-ma(or -pa)-a(š w)]a-an-nu-mi-aš-ša* (C: *wa-an-nu-um-mi-ia[-aš-ša]* (14') *an-na-aš [at-ta-aš] zi-ik*  
 (15') <sup>DUTU-uš</sup> *ku-ri-i[m(-pa-aš C 11' d)]am-mi-iš-ḫa-an-ta-aš-ša*  
 (16') [*an-t*]*u-uḫ-ša-aš k[at-ta-wa-t(ar z)]i-ik-pát* <sup>DUTU-uš</sup> (17) [*šar-ni-in-ki-iš-ki*]-*ši*  
 374.1 (4'') [<sup>DUTU-uš</sup> *dammišḫandaš(?) k*]*u-ri-im-ma-aš wa-an-nu-mi-i[a-aš . . .]*  
 (5'') [<sup>DUTU-uš</sup> *kurimmaš(?) da*]*m-me-eš-ḫa-an-ta-aš-ša an-t[u- . . .]* (6'')  
 [*kattawatar šar-ni-i*]n-*ki-iš-ki-ši*  
 Oh Sungod, you are father and mother to the (oppressed,) lonely (and bereaved) (person),  
 (oh Sungod,) only you satisfy the claims of the lonely and oppressed person.

376 broken.

(22)

- 372 (39) *ma-a-na-aš-ta ka-ru-ú-wa-ar-wa-ar* <sup>DUTU-uš</sup> *ne-pí-ša-az* (40) *ša-ra-a u-up-zi*  
*nu-uš-ša-an ša-ra-a-a[z-z]i-ia-aš u[t-n]i-e-aš* (41) *kat-te-ra-aš-ša ut-ne-ia-aš ḫu-u-ma-an-da-aš [t]u-el-pát* (42) <sup>DUTU-wa-aš</sup> <*lakukkimaš*> *ti-ia-ri*

<sup>16</sup> KUB 31.135 + 30.11, obverse.

- 374.1 (6") *ma-a-na-aš-t[a<sup>DUTU-uš</sup>] (7") [karuwarwar ne]-e-pi-ša-az ša-ra-a u-up[-zi]*  
 (8") [*nu-uš-ša*]-an<sup>17</sup> [*ša-ra-az-zi*]-ia-aš *kat-te-ra-aš-ša* KUR.KUR-aš [. . .]  
 (9") <sup>DUTU-wa-aš</sup> l[a-lu-u]k-ki-ma-aš ti-ia[-ri (or -zi)]

When in the morning the sun rises through the sky,  
 then your radiance, oh Sungod, appears on all the upper and lower  
 lands.

376 broken.

- (23)  
 372 (42) *nu UR.GI<sub>7</sub>-aš šAH-aš-ša ha-an-ni-eš-šar* (43) *ha-an-na-at-ta-ri*  
*šu-up-pa-la-an-na ha-an-ni-eš-šar iš-š[i]-it* (44) *ku-i-e-eš ū-UL me-mi-iš-*  
*kán-zi a-pa-a-at-ta ha-an-na-at-ta-ri*  
 (45) *i-da-la-u-wa-aš-ša hu-u-wa-ap-pa-aš-ša an-tu-uh-ša-aš ha-an-ni-eš-*  
*šar* (46) *zi-ik-pát ha-an-na-at-ta-ri*  
 374.1 (10") *nu šA UR.GI<sub>7</sub> [š]A šAH ha-an-ne-eš-šar zi-ik[-pát ha]-an-na-at-ta*  
 (11") *šu-up-pa-la-an-na ha-an-ne-eš-šar i-iš-ši-it ku-i[-e-e]š ū-UL me-mi-*  
*iš-kán-zi* (12") *a-pa-at-ta ha-an-na-at-ta-ri*  
*i-da-la-u-wa-aš-ša hu-wa-ap-pa-aš* (13") *an-tu-uh-ša[-aš ha-a]n-ne-eš-ša*  
*zi-ik-pát<sup>DUTU-uš</sup> ha-an-na-at-ta*

You decide the lawsuit of the dog and the pig,  
 and the lawsuit of the animals who do not speak with their mouth, even  
 that you decide;  
 and only you (oh Sungod) pronounce judgment over the evil and the  
 wicked person.

376 broken.

- (24)  
 372 (46) *an-tu-uh-š[a-a]n-na-az ku-in* (47) DINGIR.MEŠ *ša-an-zi na-aš-ša-an ar-ha*  
*pa-aš-ku-wa-an-z[i]*  
 (48) *na-an a-ap-pa zi-ik kap-pu-u-wa-ši na-an ge-en-zu-w[a-ši]*  
 374.1 (14") *an-tu-uh-ša[-an-na-a]z ku-in* DINGIR.MEŠ *ša-a-an-zi na-an-ša-an ar-ha*  
 (15") *pa-aš-ku-wa-an-z[i]*  
*na-an] a-ap-pa zi-ik-pát<sup>DUTU-uš</sup> ge-en-zu-wa-ši*  
 376 (ii 1) [*an*]-tu-uh-ši-ia-za-kán *ku-e-da-ri* DINGIR.MEŠ *š[a(-a?)-an-zi]* (2) [*n*]-a-an-  
*ša-an ar-ha pa-aš-ku-wa-an-z[i]*  
*nanšan]* (3) [*z*]-i-ik-pát<sup>DUTU URU A-ri-in-na</sup> *g[ge-en-zu-wa-ši]*  
 The person at whom the gods are angry and whom they reject,  
 you (oh Sungoddess of Arinna) (consider him again and) have mercy  
 upon him.

- (25)  
 372 (49) *ku-u-un-na LÚ.NAM.U<sub>19</sub>.LU-aš ÌR-KA<sup>DUTU-uš</sup> lu-lu-wa-a-i*  
 (50) *nu<sup>DUTU-i</sup> NINDA-an KAŠ š-i-ip-pa-za-ki-u-wa-an ti-ia-az-zi*  
 (51) *na-an ha-an-ta-an-ta-an ÌR-KA<sup>DUTU-uš</sup> ki-šar-ta e-ep*  
 Oh Sungod, sustain also this mortal, your servant!  
 Then he will proceed to offer bread and beer to you, oh Sungod.  
 Take him by the hand, oh Sungod, as your true servant!  
 374.1 (16") *am-mu-ga [LUGAL-un(?) ma-a-an(?)] lu-lu-wa-i-ši*  
*nu<sup>DUTU-i</sup> [x]x NINDA-an* (17") [*KAŠ š-i*]-ip[-panzakimi(?)]  
*nu]-mu-za ha-an-da-a-a[n-ta-an ÌR-K]A LUGAL-un* (18") [*DUTU-uš*  
*kiššarta e-ep]-ši*

<sup>17</sup> KUB 30.11 obv. 1' in traces, continued by KUB 31.135 obv. 8'.

[If(?)] you sustain me[, the king(?)],  
then I shall offer [. . .] bread and [beer] to the Sungod,  
and you [, oh Sungod,] will take me, the king, by the hand as your tru[e  
servant].

376 (ii 4) *ki-nu-na* <sup>m</sup>*Mur-ši-DINGIR-Lì-in* LUGAL-*u*-[*n* ÌR-KA] (5) *lu-lu-wa-a-i*  
*nu* <sup>m</sup>*Mur-ši-DINGIR-Lì-in* L[UGAL-un](6) ÌR-KA <sup>DUTU</sup> URU *A-ri-in-na*  
*ki-i*[š-šar-ta e-ep]  
(7) *nu-ut-ta* <sup>m</sup>*Mur-ši-DINGIR-Lì-iš*(! text *uš*) LUGAL-*uš* [*uddār*] (8)<sup>18</sup> *ku-e*  
*me-mi-eš-ki-iz-zi*  
*nu* <sup>DUTU</sup> URU *A*[-*ri-in-na* GEŠTUK-an] (9) *pa-ra-a* l[*a-ga-a*]-an *ḫar-ak*  
*na-at iš-t*[*a-ma-aš*]

And now, sustain king Muršili [,your servant],  
and [take] k[ing] Muršili, your servant, by the h[and]!  
And to [the words] which king Muršili will speak to you,  
oh Sungoddess of Arinna, hold [your ear] inclined and listen to them!

The last lines of the new fragment of the prayer of Muršili (CTH 376,A) form the transition to the specific prayer which follows immediately. This is the Plague Prayer edited by Gurney, pp. 26–33. The scribes of Muršili terminated the hymn at this point, while in the two older versions (372 and 374) it continues. In the Great Sun Hymn (372) it runs through the end of column i and the beginning of column ii (in KUB 31.127). From about line 7 or 8 on (in FHG 1) this text has its own transition to a personal prayer.<sup>19</sup> As was pointed out elsewhere,<sup>20</sup> the compositions listed under CTH 374 differ from 372 in the following ways:

(a) The hymn ends with the section about Šamaš's viziers, corresponding to 372 i 65–67,<sup>21</sup> leaving out the text of 372 ii 1–8.

(b) The transitional paragraph is different in 374.<sup>22</sup>

(c) In 374 there follows a single personal prayer which is parallel to the reverse of the Kantuzzili text (CTH 373 = KUB 30.10), whereas both the latter and 372 contain two prayers, the second of which is introduced by another short address to the Sungod.<sup>23</sup>

This is not the place for dealing with those prayers; we only want to show that the hymn, when combined with various prayers, could be terminated at different points; in other words, that the way in which the Muršili prayer cut off the hymn was not without precedent.

Returning now to the Muršili prayer, we found that the following sections (or 'stanzas') of the Great Sun Hymn were omitted:

(7), the mention of Šamaš's mother Ningal and of his blue beard;

(8), which is an unnecessary new introduction;

(10), Šamaš, son of Ningal, as law-giver;

(12), Šamaš at the head of government;

(14), his rule over the four corners bestowed on him by Enlil.

For sections 21–23, which cover 10 lines in 372 and 8 long lines in 374.1, Muršili's prayer had only 5 lines according to Walther's estimate of the position of the lower edge of the tablet. Obviously some of these sections must have been omitted, but we can only guess, which.

<sup>18</sup> This is line 1' of KUB 24.3 col. ii. Walther's estimate of ca. 10 lines is reduced to 7, so that 1' = 8.

<sup>19</sup> For the better preserved parts (i 52–61 and 65–68) see JAOS 78, 241 and HbLit. 227, (8)–(10); for the transitional paragraph see JAOS 78, 242 and JNES 33 (1974) 324.

<sup>20</sup> JNES 33, 323–327.

<sup>21</sup> KUB 36.75 + 1226/u ii 1'–6' (ZA 67.56) with duplicate KBo 22.75 + 221/w 1'–6' (ZA 64, 241).

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. 7'–12', edited JNES 33, 323 f., with parallel KUB 30.11 rev. 2'–5'; cf. HbLit. 229.

<sup>23</sup> CTH 373 = KUB 30.10 rev. 10, cf. JNES 33, 326; in CTH 372 the small fragment KUB 31.132 corresponds; cf. OrAnt. 17, sketch on p. 261, col. iii 13\* f.

Section (22), which repeats the idea of (9), and (23), which elaborates on Šamaš's role as judge, seem to be candidates for omission, whereas (21), which stresses the deity's care for the unlucky persons, may well have been retained. By terminating the hymns with (25) the prayer of Muršili furthermore excludes the sections about the draft animals and the viziers of Šamaš, as well as some fragmentary and unclear parts of CTH 372.

I hope that this comparative presentation of the hymns will serve a double purpose: one, to enable Hittitologists to compare the older and later versions at a glance for changes in spelling, morphology, syntax,<sup>24</sup> and even choice of theme (as in section 3); and two, to demonstrate how the scribes of Muršili went about adapting a hymn to Šamaš to a prayer addressed to the goddess of Arinna. One might say that in doing so they improved the quality of the poem.

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<sup>24</sup> Some of these were briefly mentioned in *Frontiers*, p. 138. The most obvious innovation is the introduction of the particle *-za* in nominal sentences that have the pronoun of the second person as subject, for which see H. A. Hoffner, JNES 28 (1969), 225–230.



# THE ABLAUT OF PRESENT AND PRETERITE IN HITTITE RADICAL VERBS

By GILLIAN R. HART

The extent to which Hittite has preserved Indo-European ablaut patterns has always been a matter for debate. Variations in the vowel of the root occur in both the *-mi* and the *-hi* conjugations, although roots of the shape *TeRT*-<sup>1</sup> have eliminated vocalic variation altogether, and certain other verbs, such as *pai*- "go" have similarly only one form of the root. In those roots which end in a single consonant and show variation in the root vowel several types may be distinguished. In the *-mi* conjugation the type represented by 3 sg. *ku-en-zi*, 3 pl. *ku-na-an-zi* or 3 sg. *ku-e-ir-zi*, 3 pl. *ku-ra-an-zi* has always been recognized as reflecting inherited *e*/zero alternation, as seen also in Sanskrit 3 sg. *hánti*, 3 pl. *ghnánti*. This type presents no difficulties from the comparative point of view except for the appearance of the *e*-grade of the root in some persons where zero grade might have been expected, as in the preterite plural and 2 pl. imperative, which is identical in form with the 2 pl. indicative of the preterite.<sup>2</sup>

The second alternating type of the *-mi* conjugation has *-a-* in persons where the reduced grade of the root might be expected, such as the 3 pl. present indicative, 3 pl. imperative, participle in *-ant-* and infinitive in *-anna*, although the preterite plural and 2 pl. imperative normally have *e*-grade, and some variations are found in the 1 and 2 pl. present. The precise origin of this vowel *-a-* is difficult to determine, although there can be no doubt that from the morphological point of view it represents the zero grade. It is found not only in roots of the form *TeT-*, such as *ša-ša-an-zi* "they sleep", in conditions where complete loss of the root vowel is unlikely ever to have taken place,<sup>3</sup> but also in environments where some other Indo-European languages show complete loss of the radical vowel, as for example in *a-ša-an-zi* "they are" as contrasted with Sanskrit *santi* or Latin *sunt*. *a-* vocalism is also sometimes found in verbs with initial *w-*, in which samprasāraṇa ablaut might be expected to occur in the weak forms of the root, but does not, for example in *wa-ḥa-an-zi* "they turn" beside 3 sg. *ú-e-eḥ-zi*.<sup>4</sup> Both these categories show extension of *a*-vocalism as a mark

<sup>1</sup> Where T represents a consonant (stop, laryngeal or \*s), and R one of the semivowels \*r, \*l, \*m, \*n.

<sup>2</sup> For example *ku-e-u-en* KUB XXIII 21 obv. 15; *ku-en-te-en* KUB XXIII 68 obv. 26'; *ku-e-ni-ir* KBo III 60 iii 9. For descriptions of the ablaut alternations prevailing in the *-mi* conjugation cf. H. Kronasser, *Etymologie der hethitischen Sprache*, Wiesbaden 1962–66, p. 21, with references to earlier literature, and A. Kammenhuber, *Altkleinasiatische Sprachen = Handbuch der Orientalistik: Erste Abteilung, Zweiter Band, Erster und Zweiter Abschnitt, Lieferung 2*, Leiden/Köln 1969, pp 224–228.

<sup>3</sup> For the various environments in which vowel loss did or did not occur at the time of the IE quantitative ablaut changes see J. Kuryłowicz, *Indogermanische Grammatik* II, Heidelberg 1968, pp 208–211.

<sup>4</sup> Although *ú-e-ḥa-an-zi* is also attested, the antiquity of *wa-ḥa-an-zi* within Hittite is guaranteed by its appearance in texts with old ductus, for example in KBo XX 19, 13; XX 20 obv. 11; KBo XXV 31 ii 14'. Especially noteworthy is the form *wa-ḥa-a-an-zi* in KBo XXV 42 left 15, which provides a further example of plene-spelling in the termination of the 3 pl. present of an ablauting verb of the *-mi* conjugation; I have discussed other examples of the kind, and suggested that the plene-spelling reflects the position of the word-accent, in *BSOAS* XLIII (1980:1), pp. 1–17. Despite the antiquity of these forms with *-a*-vocalism, it is possible that the active ablauting verb is itself an innovation; it must be so if it is to be derived from IE \*weiH<sub>2</sub>, as proposed by H. Eichner, "Die Etymologie von heth. *meḥur*", *MSS* XXXI, (1973),

of the zero grade beyond those environments in which the continuation of some kind of reduced vowel might reasonably have been expected.<sup>5</sup> Doubts about the relationship of Hittite *e/a* alternation to Indo-European quantitative ablaut have been expressed not so much because of uncertainty about the provenance of the *a*-vowel<sup>6</sup> as on account of the discrepancy in distribution between the *e* and *a* vowels of Hittite and the *e* and zero grades of Indo-European. This discrepancy is found mainly in the preterite plural, where Hittite regularly has the *e*-grade of the root instead of the expected zero grade, but forms with *e* as well as forms with *a* are found in the 1 and 2 pl. of the present (much more rarely in the 3 pl. present). In order to account for this unexpected distribution a theory of vowel assimilation was proposed<sup>7</sup> in which it was suggested that the quality of the root vowel was affected by that of the vowel of the termination. The theory appeared to have some plausibility when applied to verbal paradigms, since it predicted *e*-vowels in the first and second persons of the plural of both tenses and in the 3 pl. of the preterite, but also *a*-vocalism in the 3 pl. present indicative and imperative, the *-ant-* participle and the infinitive in *-anna*. The chief weakness of the theory, as was pointed out long ago by Sturtevant, was that the assimilation rule could not possibly qualify as a sound-law, since numerous exceptions to it could be found in the language, and even within the verbal paradigms in question it was sometimes violated, as in *a-tu-e-ni* "we eat" or *a-ku-e-ni* "we drink".<sup>8</sup> It was possible for advocates of the vowel assimilation theory to argue that such forms might be innovations based on the 3 pl. present, and that the forms with *e* in the root were older; progress towards a solution of this problem, however, could only be made in the light of independent criteria for dating the variants, such as are now increasingly being provided by the study of cuneiform palaeography.

Variations are found particularly in the 1 and 2 pl., especially of the present; it is with these persons, therefore, that this study will be mainly con-

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p. 76. In favour of Eichner's etymology is the fact that this verb has a mediopassive with invariable *e*-grade of the root; for the forms see E. Neu, *Die Interpretation der hethitischen mediopassiven Verbalformen*, *StBoT* 5, Wiesbaden 1968, pp 195–199. The active, which like the mediopassive is intransitive, may well be a secondary development based directly on the mediopassive, with vocalic alternation and shifting accent modelled on the existing type with *e/a* alternation. A similar case of secondary ablaut alternation is likely in *wes-* "wear", which has been made the subject of a special study by H. Eichner, "Hethitisch *uešš-/uaššii-* "(Gewänder) tragen, anziehen, bekleiden", *MSS* XXVII, (1970), 5–44, especially p. 27 and p. 41, note 50.

<sup>5</sup>J. Kuryłowicz, *Indogermanische Grammatik* II, p. 255, linked this development with the fact that in roots of the form *TeRT-* the zero grade would have had the same outcome in Hittite as the *o*-grade (*TaRT-* from both *TRT-* and *ToRT-*), so that (*T*)*at-* came to be an appropriate representation for the zero grade of (*T*)*eT-* roots. Kuryłowicz further held that the vowel which appeared in the zero grade of (*T*)*eT-* roots was originally *e*, and that this vocalism was retained in Hittite in forms of the 1 and 2 pl. like *eppueni*, *epteni*. The chronology of the Hittite forms, however, is against such a view.

<sup>6</sup>It was felt as a difficulty by H. Kronasser, who thought that it involved positing an unlikely amount of *e/b* or *ē/ə* ablaut; this, together with the problems raised by the distribution of the variants, made him inclined to prefer a theory of vowel assimilation. (*Etymologie der hethitischen Sprache* p. 21, 24).

<sup>7</sup>Its chief advocate was Walter Petersen, whose article "Vowel assimilation in Hittite", *JAOS* LIV (1934), 161–168 contained a criticism of Sturtevant's explanation in terms of ablaut, and proposed an alternative to it. The idea also received some support from H. Pedersen, *Hittitisch und die anderen indoeuropäischen Sprachen*, København 1938, pp 128, 167, and from H. Kronasser (cf. note 6 above).

<sup>8</sup>Language XI, (1935), pp 175–184.

cerned. Early forms of the 1 and 2 pl. are not very numerous, but by combining the evidence from as many alternating *-mi* verbs as possible it is hoped that a composite picture can be built up which may help to establish the earliest distribution of *a* and *e* in the root, and to discover the direction of subsequent changes.

1. *eku-/aku-* “drink”<sup>9</sup>

So far only forms with *e* in the root seem to be attested for the preterite plural and 2 pl. imperative, and also for the 2 pl. present. But in the 1 pl. present the oldest form is certainly *a-ku-e-ni* which is attested several times in texts with the old ductus.<sup>10</sup> Later innovations are *e-ku-wa-ni* and *e-ku-e-ni*.<sup>11</sup> The form *e-ku-wa-ni*, from a parallel text to the ritual for the goddess Wišuriyanza,<sup>12</sup> is particularly interesting, as it has not only introduced *e* into the root syllable, but has also substituted *a* for *e* in the termination. There are a few more examples of this kind of double innovation, which will be mentioned below, but it is worth noticing that this form, far from supporting the theory that the quality of the root vowel was affected by that of the vowel of the termination, points in the opposite direction, since the change from *a* to *e* in the root vowel is accompanied by the change from *e* to *a* in the termination.

2. *ed-/ad-* “eat”

The preterite plural and 2 pl. imperative had regularly *e*-grade of the root, but forms with *a* are found in the 1 pl. present (*a-tu-e-ni*, *a-du-e-ni*) in Old Hittite original texts, and a 2 pl. *az-za-aš-te-ni* in *HAB* iii 34, a later copy of an Old Hittite original.<sup>13</sup> An innovated form of the same type as *e-ku-wa-ni* occurs in KUB XXIX 1 i 15 *e-du-wa-a-ni*, and in KBo XV 26, 4' where the editor, O. Carruba, restores [a-] *du-wa-ni* a restoration [e-] *du-wa-ni* seems more likely in view of the parallel *e-ku-wa-ni* in line 7'. The plene-spelling in the termination of *e-du-wa-a-ni* is surprising, but KUB XXIX 1 is a late copy, and it is not certain how reliable it is with regard to plene-spellings; it has another strange form *pa-a-i-wa-a-ni* at i 14, beside the more normal spelling *pa-a-i-wa-ni* at i 10.<sup>14</sup>

3. *ep-/ap-* “take”

There is less evidence in this verb for early forms, but *a*-vocalism of the root is found in 1 pl. present [a] *p-pu-ú-e-ni* KUB XXXV 18 i 7 and 2 pl. present

<sup>9</sup> A very full collection of forms has now been published for this verb by A. Kammenhuber, *Materialien zu einem hethitischen Thesaurus*, Heidelberg 1973—; paradigms are given in Lieferung 4 (1975), pp. 81–82.

<sup>10</sup> *a-ku-e-ni* *StBoT* 8 ii 13, iii 15, iv 6; KUB XXXVI 110 rev. 6; Bo 4194. Also KBo III 29 i 19 (an Old Hittite text in a later copy), and KUB XLVI 65 obv. 6.

<sup>11</sup> *e-ku-e-ni* 412/b+ obv. (35b), 37b. A form *a-ku-wa-ni* quoted by H. Otten and V. Souček from Bo 5709 obv. 10 (*Ein althethitisches Ritual für das Königspaar* = *StBoT* 8, Wiesbaden 1969, p. 78) looks like an innovation parallel to *e-ku-wa-ni* but without the change in root vocalism. Cf. *a-du-wa-ni* from the same line of the same text.

<sup>12</sup> O. Carruba, *Das Beschwörungsritual für die Göttin Wišuriyanza* = *StBoT* 2, Wiesbaden 1966, p. 46.

<sup>13</sup> *a-tu-e-ni* *StBoT* 8 iii 15, iv 6; *a-du-e-ni* ii 13; KUB XXXVI 110 rev. 5; *a-tu-e-ni* KBo III 29 i 19. On *a-du-wa-ni* see note 11.

<sup>14</sup> As for example in KUB XXXI 42 iii 19; KUB VII 5 ii 4. In the Hukkanas-treaty the same variants occur at KBo V 3 iv 12 *pa-a-i-u-a-ni* and 13 *pa-a-i-wa-a[-ni]*; the language of the treaty has been recently discussed by E. Neu, “Zum sprachlichen Alter des Hukkana-Vertrages”, *KZ* XCIII, (1979), pp. 64–84. Neu concludes that the language of the treaty can be classified as Middle Hittite, but ms. A, of which KBo V 3 forms part, is a thirteenth-century copy, although usually a careful one. Some texts in the old ductus, on the other hand, have the simpler spelling *pa-i-wa-ni*; so regularly in *StBoT* 8, and also in KBo XXII 2 i 15; KUB XLIII 33 obv. 4, and KBo XVII 25 obv. 6’ “in ziemlich alter Schrift”.

*ap-te-ni*, KUB XII 63 obv. 15 and KUB XLVI 48 obv. 8'. There is also an example of *a*-vocalism in the 1 pl. preterite *ap-pu-en* in KUB XXXIV 77 i 2, but this may be less old than the *e-ip-pu-en* of KBo III 60 iii 6. The 2 pl. preterite and imperative is regularly *e-ip-ten*, and it is interesting to note that in KUB XII 63 obv. 10, 19, 26, this form occurs alongside the 2 pl. present *ap-te-ni*, with different vocalism. It is also noteworthy that the 2 pl. present *e-ip-te-e-ni*, in the treaty of Mursilis II with Kupanta-DKAL, shows plene-spelling of the vowel of the termination, suggesting that the old pattern of alternating accent had been retained in spite of the levelling of the root-vowel to *e*.

4. *eš-/aš-* "be" has little more to contribute to the evidence for 1 and 2 pl. forms. The preterite plural and 2 pl. imperative regularly have *e*-grade of the root, and there is a 1 pl. present *e-šu-wa-ni* (Bo 415 ii 3) which shows the same kind of innovation as that already noticed in *e-ku-wa-ni* and *e-du-wa-ni*.

5. *šeš-/šaš-* "sleep" has now gained an early form of the 1 pl. present in *ša-šu-e-ni*, KBo XXV 3 ii 29', a text which joins KBo XVII 1 and thus belongs to the Old Hittite ritual for the royal couple edited in *StBoT* 8.

6. A further example of an innovated form of 1 pl. with *e*-grade root accompanied by *-wani* ending is *hu-e-ku-wa-ni* KBo XV 28 ob. 7.

This evidence, far from abundant though it is, seems when taken as a whole to point to some reasonably coherent conclusions. The preterite plural and 2 pl. imperative have almost invariably the *e*-grade of the root from the earliest times. The position in the present is rather different. Here the variants with *a*-vocalism in the root in the 1 and 2 pl. can in many cases be shown to be earlier than those with *e*-, which seems to have invaded the 2 pl. sooner than the 1 pl., perhaps because of the influence upon this person of the 2 pl. imperative, which would be associated with it in contexts combining commands with prohibitions. Innovations in these persons are of two types: the double vowel change found in *e-ku-wa-ni* etc., and simple substitution of *e*-grade in the root without any effect upon the vowel of the termination, and apparently with retention of the original terminational accent, as in *e-ip-te-e-ni* mentioned above, p. 54. It was apparently the second type which eventually came to prevail. The exact chronology of the first type of innovation is difficult to establish, but the presence of an example in KUB XXIX 1 suggests that it may have been begun even as early as the Old Hittite period, and the Wišuriyanza ritual with which two further examples are associated has some features which could date its composition as far back as the Middle Hittite period, such as plene-spelling in *ma-a-ah-ḫa-an* and the "correct" use of the particles *-a* (adversative and sentence connective) and *(y)a* (co-ordinating).<sup>15</sup> The model for such an innovation may have been the class of verbs which had given up vowel alternation, and possibly also adopted a fixed radical accent, already by the Old Hittite period. It is interesting to note in this connection that the editors of *StBoT* 8, in discussing endings with *a* in the 1 and 2 pl. present remark that endings having *a* are found in different verbs from those which have *e*. From their list<sup>16</sup> it is apparent that among the radical verbs the ones which have *a* in the termination are those which do not have alternation in the root vowel, namely *ḫark-* "have", *pai-* "go" and

<sup>15</sup> For the distinction between these particles see B. Rosenkranz, "Die hethitischen Schreibungen für 'und' ", *Symbolae Biblicae et Mesopotamicae Francisco Mario Theodoro Böhl dedicatae*, Leiden 1973, pp. 320–326, and P. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, "The Particle *-a* and its Usage with Respect to the Personal Pronoun", *Festschrift Heinrich Otten*, Wiesbaden 1973, pp. 119–139.

<sup>16</sup> *StBoT* 8, pp. 77–78.

*parš-* (of uncertain meaning, but likely on account of the shape of the root to belong to the non-alternating type), while alternating verbs of the *-mi* conjugation have *e* in the terminations, as do verbs with disyllabic stems.

This re-examination of the evidence for the distribution of *e*- and *a*-vocalism in the roots of verbs of the *-mi* conjugation showing vowel alternation has not produced any support for the vowel assimilation theory, but rather the reverse, since *a*-vocalism in the root of the 1 pl. present is clearly old, and was probably old in the 2 pl. present as well. *e*-vocalism in the root of these persons is most probably to be attributed to the influence of the preterite, with its uniform *e*-grade, and perhaps in the first place by means of influence of the 2 pl. imperative upon the 2 pl. present.

The pattern of vocalic alternation in the present of the verbs in question is compatible with an explanation in terms of inherited ablaut, but there is still the discrepancy in the preterite to be accounted for. But before its implications are considered it is desirable to look at other patterns of alternation in radical verbs, which show similarities to those already discussed.

The irregular verb *au(š)-* “see”, which inflects partly according to the *-mi* and partly according to the *-hi* conjugation, shows alternation between *au(š)-* and *u(š)-* in the root. As in the verbs already discussed, strong forms are regular in the preterite plural and 2 pl. imperative,<sup>17</sup> while the 3 pl. present has the weak form *ú-wa-an-zi*. In the 1 and 2 pl. present variants occur; the 1 pl. present is *ú-me-(e)-ni* or *a-ú-um-me-ni*, and the 2 pl. *uš-te-ni*, *a-uš-te-ni* or *a-ut-te-ni*. Here again the forms with *u-* in the root are attested for the earlier stages of the language, while those with *au(š)-* appear later; *ú-me-ni* is found at *StBoT* 8 iv 8, *ú-m-e-e-ni* with plene spelling of the vowel of the termination in KBo III 60 i 11, and also at KUB XL 28, 4; *a-ú-um-me-ni* KUB XXI 27 ii 4 comes from the prayer of Puduhepa to the Sun-Goddess of Arinna; in the 2 pl. present *uš-te-ni* occurs in KBo III 28 ii 9 (a fragment of the Palace Chronicle), *a-uš-te-ni* in the Middle Hittite Gasga-treaty KUB XXIII 77, 15, and *a-ut-te-ni* in KUB XXI 42 i 30 etc. (instructions of Tudḫaliyas IV) as well as in the late copy of an early text, KUB XXXI 115, 21 = CTH 24 (fragments naming Pimpira). The direction of innovation here, as in the case of the *-mi* verbs with vocalic alternation discussed above, is from the preterite to the present, and works towards the generalisation of strong forms of the root, a process which the 3 pl. present escapes, perhaps because its form is supported by that of the participle, or perhaps because its ending is quite different from that of the 3 pl. preterite.

There are parallels in the *-hi* conjugation to the kind of pattern seen in the verbs so far discussed. It emerges clearly in the case of *da-* “take” where a 1 pl. present with what must be reduced grade of the root is well attested from the earliest times onwards: for example *tu-me-e-ni* in *StBoT* 8 iii 44, iv 25; KBo XVII 25 obv. 8'. KUB XLIII 25, 12', *du-me-e-ni* KBo XV 10 ii 58'. Innovated forms with full grade of the root are also found, as in *da-a-u-wa-ni* KUB XII 63 rev. 3, 8; *da-a-u-e-ni* KUB XVI 16 ii 20. The full grade is normal in the plural persons of the preterite, as in *da-a-u-en* KBo III 60 iii 12, KBo XV 10 ii 60', KBo XVI 65 i 1–4; here plene-spelling of the root vowel is attested as well as in 2 pl. forms such as *da-a-at-te-en*, *StBoT* 8, 7 iv 9, KBo VII 28 rev. 44; KBo XXII 131, 11. By contrast, there are 2 pl. present forms

<sup>17</sup>For example *a-ú-me-en* KBo XXII 129 obv. 4, 10, KUB XVIII 5 i (23), 33, (36), 46; KUB IX 34 iii 39, 40, 41; *a-uš-ten* KUB XV 34 ii 12. Further examples from unpublished texts are given by H. Otten, *Eine althethitische Erzählung um die Stadt Zalpa* = *StBoT* 17, Wiesbaden 1973, p. 30.

which do not have plene-spelling in the root, but have it in the termination instead, such as *da-at-te-e-ni* KUB XXXVI 106 obv. 8; KUB XIII 35 iv 1; KBo XVI 62 iv 19a. The pattern of alternation is necessarily expressed in a different way from that of the alternating verbs of the *-mi* conjugation, since there is no difference in vowel quality between the strong and weak forms of the root, except in the distinctive form of the 1 pl. present of this verb, but the difference between strong and weak forms is signalled by the presence of plene-spellings either in the root or in the termination, and the distinction between them according to this criterion shows that they are distributed in exactly the same way as are *e-* and *a-* vowels in the class of *-mi* conjugation verbs discussed earlier. The pattern is again one of a present with alternation between strong forms of the root with radical accent in the singular, weak form of the root with accent on the termination in the plural, opposed to a preterite which has radical accentuation and strong forms of the root in both singular and plural.

Two other *-hi* conjugation verbs may be mentioned which seem to have begun with similar ablaut-patterns to this, but to have made innovations of different kinds, so that the likely original state of affairs is no longer as clear. The first is *dai-* "put". Here the 1 pl. present *ti-ya-u-e-ni* preserves a modified form of the expected weak grade of the root; the form may once have been *\*tiweni*, like the attested *pi-ú-e-ni* from *pai-* "give", but seems to have been influenced by the 3 pl. present *tiyanzi*. The 2 pl. present, on the other hand, shows strong forms of the root,<sup>18</sup> as do the 1 and 2 pl. of the preterite; early forms here are the Middle Hittite *da-a-i-ú-en* KBo XV 10 i 32, and Old Hittite *da-a-iš-te-en* KBo XII 18 i 3; *da-a-iš-ten* is also attested in KBo IV 8 ii 17, from the time of Mursilis II, but a form with the weak grade of the root are found in *ti-ya-u-en* KUB XXVI 66 iii 17.

*pai-/piya-* "give", although in other Anatolian languages it has only the stem *piya*<sup>19</sup> belongs in Hittite to the alternating type; like other verbs with ablaut it makes an infinitive in *-anna*, and the early pattern of shifting accent is exemplified by the participle *pi-ya-a-an* in KBo VI 2 ii 28, 29. But it differs from the verbs already discussed in that it has weak forms of the root in the preterite plural as well as in the present plural, except for the 2 pl. where Middle Hittite forms with strong root vocalism are attested in the imperative *pa-iš-ten* several times in Gasga treaties.<sup>20</sup> In contrast, the older text *StBoT* 8 has a form *[(-)p]i-i-iš-te-en* in 7 iv 10', with weak grade of the root but at the same time plene-spelling of the root vowel *-i-*. The same situation is found in the 1 pl. preterite *pi-i-ú-en* in KUB XXXIV 50, 5, and in the 3 pl. preterite *pi-i-e-ir*.<sup>21</sup> The plural forms of the present regularly have the weak form of the root, as in the 1 pl. *pi-ú-e-ni* KBo XVIII 86 obv. 2 etc.;<sup>22</sup> plene-spelling of the radical vowel is found in *pi-i-ú-e-ni* KBo XVI 27 i 14 (Gasga treaty of Arnuwandas I). A later variant is *pi-ya-u-e-ni* KBo V 8 iii 10; cf. also *pi-i-ya-u-e-ni* KUB XIV 16 iii 34. The 2 pl. present has a variety of forms;

<sup>18</sup> A late example is *da-a-it-te-ni* KUB XIII 6 ii 5.

<sup>19</sup> E. Laroche, "La stèle trilingue du Létôon; Deuxième partie, l'inscription lycienne". *Fouilles de Xanthos*, Tome VI, Paris 1979, p. 106.

<sup>20</sup> For a synopsis of the forms from this verb see E. von Schuler, *Die Kaškaer, Ein Beitrag zur Ethnographie des alten Kleinasien*, Berlin 1965, p. 126.

<sup>21</sup> For example KBo III 17 obv. 7; KBo XXIV 24 iii 22'; KBo XXV 68 i 12', as well as the more ambiguous spelling *pi-i-ir*, KBo III 33 ii 8; KBo III 34 ii 18; KBo III 55 obv. 10; KBo VIII 42 rev. 10.

<sup>22</sup> *pi-ú-e-ni* also at KUB II 2 ii 50; KBo XVI 50 obv. 6; *pi-i-ú-e-ni* KBo XXI 21 rev. 15'.

*pa-iš-te-ni* KUB XIII 27 obv. 28 may show the influence of the 2 pl. imperative *pa-iš-ten*, and it is possible that forms in *peš-* represent a later development of the strong form. The more normal form with weak grade of the root is found at KUB XXIII 77, 20; KUB XV 34 iii 38 (*pi-iš-te-ni*). Plene-spelling is found in the termination in later texts, as in *pi-eš-te-e-ni* KUB XIV 15 i 15 and *pi-e-eš-te-e-ni* (!) KBo V 13 i 8, both belonging to the treaty of Mursilis II with Kupanta-DKAL.

The existence of weak forms of the root in the preterite plural might be interpreted as a historical survival, but there are several reasons for doubting this. They are 1. the evidence for root-accent in the preterite plural: 2. the abnormality of this verb compared with the other alternating verbs of the *-hi* conjugation: and 3. the preservation of strong forms in the 2 pl. imperative. All these facts can be accounted for with the aid of a single hypothesis, which is that *pai-* “give” developed forms which enabled it to remain distinct from *pai-* “go” in those persons where there was risk of confusion. There was no such risk in the singular, since the two verbs belong to different conjugations, and no problem regarding the plural persons of the present, where *pai-* “go” keeps the same form of the root as it has in the singular, but there would have been a problem about the plural preterite, except for the second person, where *pai-* “give” has *-š-* before the ending and *pai-* “go” does not. And it is precisely in this person that *pai-* “give” has strong forms of the root, which can safely be extended to the 2 pl. present, and were so extended to give eventually the matching forms *pešteni* and *pešten*. All the types of verb discussed so far, whether belonging to the *-mi* or to the *-hi* conjugation, have essentially the same distribution of strong and weak grades of the root, though these are realized in a variety of ways. In the present there is alternation between strong forms in the singular and weak forms in the plural, although the weak forms which appear in early texts in the 1 and 2 pl. present tend later to be replaced by strong forms, doubtless under the influence of the preterite and the 2 pl. imperative, which have the strong forms from the earliest times. The chronology of forms of the 1 and 2 pl. present in verbs of the *-mi* conjugation gives no support to the theory of vowel assimilation, since forms with *a*-vocalism in the root in these persons are earlier than those with *e*-vocalism, and the extension of the *e*-grade can adequately be explained by the influence of the corresponding forms of the preterite. The different ways in which strong and weak forms of the root are represented in different classes of verbs are very valuable for the way in which they reveal the underlying structural principle of these alternations; the variation between *e* and zero in *kuen-/kun-*, that between *e* and *a* in *ed-/ad-*, and that between *au-* and *u-* in *au(š)-* “see” have similar distributions, and to the evidence of actual variation in the radical vowel can be added that of plene-writing of the vowels of roots and terminations, which appears to bear a relation to the position of the accent, as I have tried to show in a previous article (see note 4); variations in the incidence of plene-writing between root and termination help to reveal the existence of a similar alternation of strong and weak forms of the root in *da-* “take”, where the only clear case of a reduced grade of the radical vowel appears in the 1 pl. present *tu(m)-me-(e)-ni*, the weak grade of the root being elsewhere represented by *-a-* without plene-spelling.

There is a quite different pattern of vocalic alternation found in certain verbs of the *-hi* conjugation which have the root vowel *-a-* in the singular and *-e-* in at least some persons of the plural: the details differ from one verb to the next, so that it is difficult to establish what the normal pattern of distribution of the



variants is. These verbs have often been discussed, most recently by Jay Jasanoff, who has adduced interesting comparative evidence in the form of verbs which are attested elsewhere with radical vowel *e* or *o* in the present stem, and has suggested that these may represent alternative levellings from an older type with *o/e* alternation, which is perhaps preserved by some of the *a/e* alternating verbs of Hittite.<sup>23</sup> It is possible, as Jasanoff suggests, that some Hittite verbs which once had this type of alternation have lost it because they had roots ending in more than one consonant; the possibility also seems worth considering that some Hittite verbs which had roots ending in a single consonant had actually acquired *a/e* alternation rather than inheriting it. These verbs merit a separate study, which cannot be attempted here. The main purpose of the present investigation has been to reconsider the evidence for ancient ablaut patterns in verbs of the *-mi* conjugation, together with those verbs of the *-hi* conjugation which have the same kind of distribution between weak and strong forms of the root. The picture presented by all these types of Hittite is in fact remarkably consistent once an attempt is made to put the variants into chronological order, and it differs from the state of affairs usually reconstructed for Indo-European in one important respect; the absence of alternation in the preterite, as opposed to its existence in the present; the incidence of plene-writing suggests that the root vowel was accented in the plural persons of the preterite as well as in the singular. This fact has usually been put down to an innovation on the part of Hittite,<sup>24</sup> but it seems strange that the preterite should have undergone such a levelling process independently of the present; in fact the anomaly between present and preterite which is still clearly visible in the earliest stage of the language known to us is progressively being removed in the course of the historical period by the extension of strong forms of the root to the present as well; the process is still incomplete when the records come to an end, since despite some encroachments by *e*-grade forms the 3 pl. present usually retains its original weak grade of the root.

In the present state of conflicting opinions about the relationship of the Anatolian group of languages to the rest of Indo-European it is hardly any longer possible to assert with confidence that where there is a discrepancy between attested Hittite and reconstructed Indo-European the former must be explained as an innovation starting from the latter.<sup>25</sup> The Hittite state of affairs with regard to the ablaut of present and preterite could be either an innovation or an archaism. In favour of the latter hypothesis might be mentioned the fact that preterites with strong forms in the plural do in fact occur in other Indo-European languages; as well as root aorists of the type of Greek *ἔστη*, Skt. *ásthāt*, which have full grade of the root throughout the dual and plural except for the 3 pl., there are also 2 pl. imperative forms in Vedic with full grade of the root.

<sup>23</sup> J. H. Jasanoff, "The Position of the *-hi* Conjugation". *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch: Vergleichende Studien zur historischen Grammatik und zur dialektgeographischen Stellung der indogermanischen Sprachgruppe Altkleinasiens*. Herausgegeben von Erich Neu und Wolfgang Meid. Innsbruck 1979, pp. 79–90.

<sup>24</sup> As for example by E. Risch, "Zur Entstehung des hethitischen Verbalparadigmas", *Flexion und Wortbildung: Akten der V. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft. Regensburg, 9.–14. September 1973*. Herausgegeben von Helmut Rix. Wiesbaden 1975, pp. 247–258, esp. p. 256(e). The same view is taken by F. O. Lindeman, "L'apophonie radicale au présent-imparfait actif des verbes athématiques en indo-européen", *BSL* LXXI, (1976), pp. 113–121.

<sup>25</sup> See in particular the contributions to *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* by W. Cowgill "Anatolian *-hi* conjugation and Indo-European Perfect: Instalment II", pp. 9–40 and W. Meid "Der Archaismus des Hethitischen", pp. 159–176.

Both these categories have variously been regarded as innovations or as archaisms.<sup>26</sup> It is not my purpose here to try to evaluate the arguments which have been used on either side, but merely to raise some questions regarding the Hittite situation and its possible relevance to the existing Indo-European problem.

1. The assumption that the strong form of the root in the plural is an innovation in those root aorists which show it is sometimes supported by the argument that the Indo-European aorist, unlike the imperfect, was an isolated past tense without a corresponding present, and therefore less likely to be prevented from undergoing levelling of the root vowel. This argument cannot be applied to Hittite, which has no isolated past tenses. Furthermore, the structure of the Indo-European verbal system with its paired present and imperfect tenses made from the same stem opposed to the isolated aorist, made from a different stem and not making a present tense, might equally well be invoked to account for a development of the opposite kind; the survival in the aorist of an archaic state of affairs because of its relative isolation, and an innovation which introduced into the imperfect the type of alternation existing in the closely associated present stem, thus producing a more regular pattern in these two tenses taken together. The historical development which can be observed in progress in Hittite also tends towards the establishment of a regular system, but of the opposite kind to that which appears in Indo-European in the present and imperfect.

2. The 2 pl. imperatives of Vedic with strong grade of the root, if they are not innovations, provide evidence for this kind of ablaut having existed at one time in forms derived from the present stem; in other words, it was not a peculiarity of the aorist as such. There is of course no distinction between present and aorist stems in Hittite, but it should be noted that the type of ablaut which has been discussed above occurs both in stems which correspond to radical presents in other Indo-European languages and in those which appear to correspond to aorists.<sup>27</sup>

3. In a situation where the relationship between Anatolian and the other Indo-European languages is still a matter for lively dispute, as the recent appearance of *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* has demonstrated, it seems important to avoid prejudging the issues in favour of one side or the other until both have been fully explored. The proposal to consider the Hittite ablaut pattern in present and preterite as an archaism implies at the same time the treatment of

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<sup>26</sup> The antiquity of the full grade root in the aorist has been maintained by K. Hoffmann, "zum Optativ des Indogermanischen Wurzel-aorists", *Pratidānam: Indian, Iranian and Indo-European Studies Presented to F. B. J. Kuiper on his Sixtieth Birthday*, The Hague 1968, pp. 3–8; this view has been contested by E. D. Francis, "Greek ἐβλην", *Glotta* LII, (1974), pp. 11–30, because of the difficulty in explaining the Homeric dual βῆτην "they two went" (beside βήτην) as an innovation. The traditional view is also supported by J. Kuryłowicz, *Indogermanische Grammatik* II, pp. 81–82, who regards the Greek and Indo-Iranian phenomena as resulting from independent innovations. Kuryłowicz likewise regards the Vedic imperatives of the 2 pl. with full grade of the root as innovations, although C. Watkins, *Indogermanische Grammatik* III/1, pp. 32–33 is inclined to regard the imperatives (though not the aorists) as archaic survivals. For an attempt to explain the Vedic 2 pl. imperatives as having acquired full grade of the root under the influence of the optative see the article by F. O. Lindeman referred to in note 24. H. Eichner, "Die Vorgeschichte des hethitischen Verbal-systems", *Flexion und Wortbildung* p. 82 follows K. Hoffmann in regarding the full grade radical vocalism of the Vedic and Greek aorists as archaic, and finds support for this in the Hittite situation, where he believes that the ablaut inherited in aorist stems was extended to the past tenses of old root presents like *kuen-* "kill".

<sup>27</sup> For these see the article of Eichner cited in note 26 above, especially p. 82.

the Indo-European system of identical patterns in the present and imperfect as an innovation; and if a common innovation of Indo-European to the exclusion of Anatolian, then a point in favour of the "Indo-Hittite" hypothesis. The arguments put forward above have been intended to show that greater simplicity in explanation can be achieved by the hypothesis that the Hittite state of affairs is the older than by the reverse hypothesis. All that is required by way of innovation if one starts from the "asymmetrical" Hittite model is an introduction in Indo-European after the separation of Proto-Anatolian of the alternating ablaut pattern from the present into the imperfect (and also into some aorists, such as Greek ἔθηκα: ἔθεμεν). The strong forms in the plural of some root aorists and in the 2 pl. imperatives of Vedic can then be accounted for in terms of archaic survivals in relatively isolated forms, and no special explanations are required for their existence. The alternative hypothesis, besides requiring a number of special explanations for the forms in question, postulates an innovation in Hittite which seems to be rather inadequately motivated, and has the further disadvantage of producing an imbalance between the present and the preterite which was then progressively (though not completely) demolished by the extension of full grade forms to the present. If the hypothesis that the Hittite state of affairs is the older works well in terms of simplicity and economy, it could still prove somewhat embarrassing from a more theoretical point of view. While it was taken as certain that the present and imperfect of Indo-European had the same ablaut pattern, it was possible to produce a formula to account for the shifting accent and the consequent changes affecting radical vowels in terms of the syllabic structure of the inflected forms: F. de Saussure's rule that the accent moved on to a termination capable of forming a syllable was quoted by Watkins<sup>28</sup> as a valid principle for the normal, active, non-intensive presents of Indo-European athematic verbs (including those with reduplication or nasal infix as well as the root presents). The rule worked, as de Saussure remarked, for forms without the "*hic et nunc*" particle *-i*, that is to say the more basic forms with secondary endings. Herein lies the great difficulty, for if it was in forms with secondary endings that this type of alternation originated, it would be most surprising to find it in the present to the exclusion of the preterite. Any such principle which could account for the "asymmetrical" pattern of present and preterite as found in Hittite would have to reckon with the existence of a distinction between primary and secondary endings, since this feature seems to be the only one likely to have made any difference between the tenses at so early a date. In fact the Hittite distribution of accent and ablaut grades in the radical verbs in question can be accounted for in terms of a rule related to the number of syllables in the word. If there are two syllables, the accent is on the first; if three, on the second. This principle works in Hittite radical verbs only because the "*hic et nunc*" particle is attached to the endings of the 1 and 2 pl. present as well as the 3 pl. present. In view of the lack of unanimity among the Indo-European languages regarding distinctions between primary and secondary endings in the 1 and 2 pl. it is doubtful if the Hittite system can represent anything very old.<sup>29</sup> It might indeed be possible to offer an explanation for the Hittite ablaut pattern as having arisen from the arrangement usually postulated for Indo-European in the following way: after *-i* endings had become regular in the 1 and 2 pl. present the accentual pattern of the present could have been reinterpreted as determined by

<sup>28</sup> *Indogermanische Grammatik* III/1, pp. 24–25.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. the discussion by Watkins, *Indogermanische Grammatik* III/1, p. 35.

a rule of penultimate accent rather than by a rule of movement of the accent to the termination in the plural. An extension of this rule to the preterite would then have produced the historically attested system, provided that it was still possible at that time for the retraction of the accent to the root to have prompted the restoration of the full grade of the root vowel as well. This account would save de Saussure's rule and the traditionally posited Indo-European system, by providing a motive for the development of the asymmetrical but rule-governed system of Hittite, but it would do nothing to explain the strong forms of the root in plural persons with secondary endings in other Indo-European languages. I cannot at the moment think of a satisfactory solution to this problem, but in the context of the present discussion about the position of Anatolian it seems worth while to state the issues in the hope that other contributions to the debate will be provoked.



## TWO NEW SEAL-INSRIPTIONS

By E. SOLLBERGER

The seal-inscriptions published here have been chosen as a fitting, albeit very modest, tribute to Professor Gurney as they both have a faint Hurrian flavour. One appears on the seal of a royal scribe bearing a Hurrian name; the other gives us the name of a new king of ʿAraḥar,<sup>1</sup> a place currently located in a Hurrian, or Hurrian-influenced, region<sup>2</sup> and whose only hitherto known king bore the Hurrian name, Ankiš-atal.<sup>3</sup> The seals will be fully published by Dr D. Collon in a forthcoming volume of the *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in The British Museum*:<sup>4</sup> only the inscriptions are therefore discussed in these pages. 1. BM 102055 = 1905-12-9,3<sup>5</sup> is a seal of the *in-na-ba*-type characteristic of the later part of the Third Dynasty of Ur and lingering on into the following period,<sup>6</sup> but it shows clear signs of re-use.<sup>7</sup> The legend (in Akkadian, judging by line 2) reads:—

AN-za-ba-zu-na	ANzabazuna,
lugal da-núm	strong king:
te-ḫe-eš-a-tal	Teḫeš-atal,
dub-sar	scribe,
ir-sú	is his servant.

The scribe's name is well attested in Ur-III texts in the forms Taḫiš-atal and Taḫš-atal. Our form, Teḫeš-atal, is, as far as I know, unique and may perhaps point to a date slightly later than Ur III.

The king's name, for which I can offer no translation,<sup>8</sup> is almost certainly the same as the fragmentary name found on a seal-impression from Ešnuna.<sup>9</sup> The transliteration given by Jacobsen in OIP 43 is as follows:—

[. .]-ba-zu-na  
[. .] da-núm  
[. .]-lī rī (?)-rī

However, his part-copy, part-transliteration on the relevant field-catalogue card<sup>10</sup> shows that line 3 could also be read

[. .]-lī-[a]r-rī,

<sup>1</sup> Normally written GÁN-ḫarkī. The reading is given by three occurrences of the syllabic spelling ḫa-ra-ḫarkī: Gelb, *Hurrians & Subarians*, 57, n. 72 (=Edzard & Farber, *Rép. géogr.* 2, 91); Sollberger, MVN 5, 140; and a tablet in a London private collection. (For a spelling ending in -ra, see *Kramer Anniversary Volume*, 449.)

<sup>2</sup> See Gelb and Edzard & Farber, ll. cc.

<sup>3</sup> On the reading of the name, see Sollberger & Kupper, IRSA, 169. Whiting, JCS 28, 173 ff., reads the name Tiš-atal and suggests that the king may be identified with Tiš-atal of Urkiš and Nawar (Parrot & Nougayrol, RA 42, 1 ff.) and one Tiš-atal of Nineveh. If this could be proved, one would, of course, have to accept the interpretation of AN as the classifier "god", as well as the emendation of KI into DI.

<sup>4</sup> *Cylinder Seals, II: Akkadian to Ur III Periods*.

<sup>5</sup> Greenstone facies; 3.25 × 1.5 cm. Collon, *Catalogue*, no. 451.

<sup>6</sup> Sollberger, JCS 19, 29 f.; J. A. Franke in Gibson & Biggs, *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East*, 61 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Note the last line written smaller and outside the frame, and the traces of signs from the original inscription in lines 3 and 4.

<sup>8</sup> Note perhaps the elements anz(a/i)- and -zunna listed in Gelb & al., NPN. AN may be part of the name or the classifier "god": in the absence of clear evidence I prefer to leave the question open. The consonants in za, ba and zu are, of course, uncertain.

<sup>9</sup> As.T.223 (now lost), found in Room 0.30:12 of the Itūriya temple, below the Bilalama level: see OIP 43, 146 (no. 13) and 255.

<sup>10</sup> A Xerox-copy of which was kindly sent to me by Dr. R. M. Whiting to whom Professor Gelb had shown my first, tentative, transliteration of the B.M. seal-inscription.

and that there were traces of two more lines, viz.,

... ] 'x' 'x' [...  
... ] 'x' IGI [...

the former possibly to be read [à]ga-ú[s (lugal)?], 'x' in the latter being a sign ending in an upright.

This, added to the fact that in Jacobsen's copy the signs BA and ZU have a different shape from those on our seal, makes it clear that the impression on As.T.223 was not from it. We thus have the seals of two of King ANZABAZUNA's servants, neither of whom, however, saw fit to mention the name of his realm.

That an impression from a seal dedicated to him was found at Tell Asmar does not in itself make him a ruler of Ešnuna: a seal-impression of a king of Dēr, for instance, was found there. Indeed, the epithet *šarrum dannum*, used in both seal legends, almost certainly precludes it: the rulers of Ešnuna, with the exception of Ilšu-ili(ya) in the Ur-III period and Ipiq-Adad II, Narām-Sîn and Ibāl-pi-El II in the Old-Babylonian period, apply the epithet to Tišpak and not to themselves.<sup>11</sup>

In view of the Hurrian name of one at least of his servants, ANZABAZUNA's kingdom should perhaps be sought in the Hurrian geographical area; Ḫaraḫar might be a good guess, though no more than that. On the evidence of the find-spot of the Tell Asmar seal-impression,<sup>12</sup> his reign can be dated some time between the end of Ur III and the reign of Bilalama of Ešnuna, a date well compatible with his scribe's re-use of an Ur-III seal.

2. BM 89851 = 95-10-22,<sup>3</sup> shows the well-known motif of the victorious king whirling his sling<sup>14</sup> and putting his foot on the chest of his supine enemy. The scene is beautifully engraved, in contrast to the inscription which is not very deeply incised, being in part so shallow as to show almost better on the blue background of the seal than on any impression.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, it is the inscription which, because of its style and, perhaps even more, its length, makes our seal particularly important. It is, with its 21 lines in two columns, the longest seal-legend known to me from pre-Kassite times and gives only the name, title, and grandiose epithets of a hitherto unknown, albeit rather megalomaniac, king of Ḫaraḫar. Like those of Ankiš-atal of Ḫaraḫar and ANZABAZUNA, his name too starts with the sign AN but in his case, especially in view of line 2 of the legend, self-deification must be accepted and I have therefore treated AN as the semantic classifier 'god', the king's name being simply Zardamu.<sup>16</sup>

i	1	<sup>a</sup> za-ar-da-mu	Zardamu,
	2	<sup>a</sup> utu ma-ti-šu	Sun-god of his land;
	3	na-ra-am	beloved of
	4	<sup>a</sup> nè-unu-gal	Nergal,
	5	i-lí-šu	his god;

<sup>11</sup> For the statements in this paragraph see Jacobsen, OIP 43, 134 ff.; Sollberger & Kupper, IRSA, IIID2 and IVE.

<sup>12</sup> See n. 9 above.

<sup>13</sup> Lapis-lazuli; 3.05 × 1.85 cm. Collon, *Catalogue*, no. 472.—I read a short notice on this seal at the 24th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Paris, 1977).

<sup>14</sup> This is usually described as a multiple mace, surely as efficient a weapon as the celebrated "four-bladed axe" (cf. Sollberger & Kupper, IRSA, 127, n. 2). I prefer to see in it a kinetographic representation of a sling-and-slingstone being whirled before shooting. (I was happy to see that W. G. Lambert, *Iraq* 41, 9 f. had reached a similar conclusion though describing the weapon as a club. Not also that the figure whirling the weapon is not always a lion-man or a god, and that it does appear before the Old-Babylonian period.)

<sup>15</sup> In places it has also been rubbed down to the point of illegibility. No copy could have faithfully reproduced it in its present state and therefore none is given; but the transliteration offered here, the result of repeated spells of close scrutiny of the original and three impressions of varying quality, is, on the whole, fairly certain.

<sup>16</sup> The Hurrian element *anza-* (see n. 8 above) would then be irrelevant. The consonants in ZA and DA are uncertain.





Impressions from seals BM 102055 (above) and BM 89851 (below).

*Photo British Museum*



6	<i>an-nu-ni-tum</i>	Annunitum,
7	<i>um-ma-šu</i>	his mother;
8	<sup>d</sup> [šul]- <sup>r</sup> pa <sup>r</sup> -è	Šul-pae,
9	<sup>r</sup> x <sup>r</sup> -ti-[x]- <sup>r</sup> AN <sup>r</sup> - <sup>r</sup> šu <sup>r</sup>	his . . .; <sup>17</sup>
10	<sup>r</sup> x <sup>r</sup> -[. . . . .]	. . . <sup>18</sup> [of DN],
11	<sup>r</sup> x <sup>r</sup> -[. . .]- <sup>r</sup> šu <sup>r</sup>	his . . .;
12	<sup>d</sup> en-sig-nun	En-sig-nun,
ii 13	<i>a-li-ik i-</i> <i>mi-ti-šu</i>	who walks at his right;
14	<sup>r</sup> x <sup>r</sup> <sup>d</sup> utu	. . . <sup>18</sup> of Šamaš,
15	<sup>d</sup> dumu-zi- <sup>r</sup> šu <sup>r</sup> ?	his? Tammuz; <sup>19</sup>
16	lugal <i>da-núm</i>	strong king,
17	lugal GÁN- <i>har</i> <sup>k1</sup>	king of Harahar
18	ù lugal	and king
19	<i>ki-ib-ra-tim</i>	of the Four Parts;
20	<i>ar-ba-im</i>	
21	dam <sup>d</sup> inana	spouse of Eštar. <sup>20</sup>

Postscript : After I had read and returned the galley-proofs of this article, I received the issues of *Sumer* for 1978 and 1979, just published. In the former, A. Al-Fouadi publishes an inscription of King Iddi (n)-Suen of Simurru in which ANzabazuna is described as his son.

<sup>17</sup> Perhaps “the . . . of his god”?

<sup>18</sup> Perhaps “servant”?

<sup>19</sup> I fail to understand this passage for which I can find no parallel.

<sup>20</sup> For lines 16–21 cf. the Narām-Suen (?) inscription Thureau-Dangin, RA 9, 34, Obv. ii: . . . *da-núm*, lugal *a-kà-dè*<sup>k1</sup> *ù ki-ib-ra-tim ar-ba-im, mu-ut* <sup>d</sup>inana . . .



## THE PLACE OF THE ŠAKNU IN ASSYRIAN GOVERNMENT

by J. N. POSTGATE

The legacy of the Assyrian empire consisted chiefly in the administrative structure inherited by its successors, and hence Assyriologists have always been conscious of the interest of the “army” of officials who appear in the correspondence and administrative documents found in the palaces of Assyria. In reconstructing this system the views of the Assyrian scribes themselves are obviously worthy of our careful attention, and a long-known “practical” list of officials, etc. from Kouyunjik (K 4395, hereafter “the Kouyunjik list”) has been joined by two copies of a longer list from Sultan Tepe (STT 382 to 385, hereafter “the Sultan Tepe list”). Although parts of each are missing, and their arrangement is far from consistent, both lists give an invaluable idea of how the scribes viewed the different professions and appointments, and, within their own limits, they are obviously meant to give a fairly comprehensive account. Moreover, and this is of particular importance, they are lists of *Assyrian* terms, composed freshly from Assyrian sources and not dependent on the Babylonian lexical canon. Hence there is a reasonable expectation that they will give a picture of the situation at about the time in which we are interested, and we may even be allowed to hope that the lists may have been “up-dated” in the course of their existence to allow for changes. This hope does indeed seem to be fulfilled by the individual entries, which coincide very well with the repertoire of titles and their *Schreibweise* as these are known from 7th century documents. In this article devoted to a single title, *šaknu*, we shall have frequent occasion to refer to these practical lists, underlining their value to the “Neo-Assyriologist”.

*The word and its spelling.* Of itself, the word *šaknu* should pose us no problems: it is of course no more nor less than the participial formation from *šakānu(m)* and means “an appointed person” (cf. AHW 1141a “Eingesetzter”). Our problems have two sources: first, the graphic ambiguity of the sign GAR, which also stands for NINDA “bread” and can be read syllabically *šá*, and, secondly, the very neutrality of the meaning “appointed person” which results in its use (or possible use) in a number of different contexts or meanings. Naturally, these problems solve themselves as more sources become available to us, for there cannot have been serious ambiguity for the scribes themselves, and it is our task to detect and define the criteria which helped the scribes to discard other interpretations of the signs for the right one, or distinguished one kind of *šaknu* from another. Only once we have done this will we be in a position to determine the function of the *šaknu* in the administration.

Without suffixes the writing of the word is entirely straightforward: LÚ.GAR, LÚ.GAR-*nu* and syllabic writings all give us the singular, Nom./Acc. form *šaknu*. In the Genitive this is as expected *šakni*. The plural is attested only as *šaknūte* (written for example LÚ.GAR.MEŠ, LÚ.GAR.MEŠ-*te*, LÚ.GAR-*nu-te*, LÚ.GAR-*nu*<sup>meš</sup>, LÚ.GAR-*nu*<sup>meš-te</sup>). There is no certain evidence for a form *šakni* or *šaknāni* of the plural, nor any reason to suppose such existed.

With personal possessive suffixes (i.e. usually -*šu*, *šunu*) the position is more complicated. In letters and some legal documents we are given the form *šaknu-šu(nu)* “his/their *šaknu*”. However, in the penalty clauses of some legal texts we find an apparent *šakan-šu*: LÚ *šak-an-šu* (ADD 223:8), *šá-kan-šu* (ADD 478:3) and LÚ.GAR-*an-šu* (CTN II 27:15); cf. also in a letter LÚ *šá-kan-šu-nu* (ABL 610:5), and, doubtfully, *šá-ka-šu* (FNALD 22. A:10—but interpreted there as *šá KA-šu*). As far as the writer is aware, there are no cases of *šakin-šu*: the normal Assyrian form of the Nom. Sing. with suffix appears to have been *šaknu-šu*, while *šakan-šu* was an admissible alternative, perhaps felt to be “correcter”. There does not seem to be any difference in meaning between the two forms.

*Some red herrings.* Before proceeding further, it is necessary to discuss in some detail various terms and writings which have been allowed to cloud the issue in the past.

1. LÚ.NINDA. It has been clear for many years that the signs LÚ.GAR *may* refer to a craftsman concerned with the preparation of bread, hence the convenient accepted transcription LÚ.NINDA. Thus in the Sultan Tepe list LÚ.NINDA and LÚ.GAL.NINDA occupy a section between the butchers and the brewers (MSL XII 234-5), while the LÚ.NINDA is seen receiving a large amount of corn in an administrative document (ND 5457:6 *Iraq* 19 [1957] 131). In many other instances it is clear from the context that this sign group has to be understood as the “baker”, and not as the *šaknu* (=LÚ.GAR). Certainty can be achieved in the plural forms sometimes: LÚ.NINDA.MEŠ-*ni* is found only in those contexts where we expect a baker, while a plural with the syllabic complement *-te* may safely be taken to stand for *šaknūte*. Naturally one is led to wonder about the correct reading of the signs LÚ.NINDA, which, as an Assyrian innovation, do not figure in any of the canonical lexical lists. Various suggestions have been made recently: CAD A/i 296 gives several references for the logogram and writes that “Since the *alahhinu* does not occur in any of the texts that list the LÚ.NINDA it seems likely that at least the functions of the officials were the same, even if it cannot be as yet asserted that LÚ.NINDA is to be read (*a*)*lahhinu* in NA”. However, this suggestion founders on the known association of the *lahhinu* with temples, an association not shared by LÚ.NINDA. Another proposal was made by K. Deller, to read the logogram *hunduraja* (see *Orientalia* NS 33 [1964] 95), but this seems unlikely to be correct in general, especially as we have a LÚ.NINDA KUR *ár-ma-a-a* in ND 5457.

Having recently collated the Kouyunjik list, I would like now to put forward a third suggestion. Although at first sight it may well seem implausible, it has lexical evidence as its basis: K 4395. vi. 29 is given in MSL XII 240 as LÚ šá DUMU *mu-raq-qi-u*, but this rather peculiar entry does not correspond to any known title, and even before collation we were inclined to emend to LÚ.NINDA LÚ *mu-raq-qi-u*. Collation confirms that the third sign is in fact a “short” LÚ (and not DUMU), a form which this scribe appears to use entirely interchangeably with the full form. In this tablet two different spellings of the same word are often given, either on the same line or on two consecutive lines; only in one case are two different titles placed on the same line, and there they are marked as separate by the scribe, using two Winkelhaken (or Glossenkeil—see iv. 13). There is a priori therefore a strong reason to assume that the scribe intended LÚ *mu-raq-qi-u* as a syllabic writing of LÚ.NINDA (and accordingly, no doubt, *muragqitu* as the equivalent of MÍ.NINDA). This however poses fresh problems, not the least being that Babylonian lexical sources give us the equation LÚ.Ì.RÁ.RÁ = *mu-raq-qu-u* (CAD M/ii 218), and that the LÚ.Ì.RÁ.RÁ is found in the Sultan Tepe list (v. 16) completely separated from LÚ.NINDA. Nevertheless, it is at least possible to reconcile the word *muragqi'u*, conventionally “perfume-maker” with the occupation of “baker”: ordinary bread would of course have been made in domestic ovens and probably by slaves in public institutions, and if we realize that the meaning of *riqqu* and its cognates embraces “(edible) spices” as much as “ointments, perfumes”, it is reasonable that the *muragqi'u* could have been a specialist bread-maker or pastry-cook.

There remains the problem of how to distinguish LÚ.NINDA from LÚ.GAR: provisionally the simplest rule of thumb will be to read it LÚ.NINDA unless the syllabic complement(s)—most often *-nu*—or the context indicate otherwise. We are not of course as well briefed as the Assyrian scribe, but frequently it is possible for us to decide on the basis of context which was intended, and failing that the great frequency of the writing LÚ.GAR-*nu* allows us, with only the rarest exceptions in the every-day administrative documents, to take the signs without a syllabic complement as standing for LÚ.NINDA.

2. *šakintu*. Evidence from the Nimrud documents shows that the *šakintu*, literally of course only “appointed woman”, was an official responsible for the internal administration of palaces, and in particular for the female staff. Documents related to the work of the

*šakintu* come from Kouyunjik (unfortunately unprovenanced within the mound), from the North-West Palace (ZT) at Kalhu (B. Parker, *Iraq* 16 [1954] 32 ff.; cf. *Iraq* 42 [1980] 99–100), and from Fort Shalmaneser (unpublished). Here we need only remark that although she may grammatically be the feminine equivalent of the *šaknu*, there is no equivalence of function. R. A. Henshawe rather hints, although he carefully does not state, that she could have been a “female *šaknu*”, but as we shall see there does not appear to be a *šaknu* with this sort of administrative responsibility in the Neo-Assyrian palaces (cf. JAOS 88 [1968] 464). We cannot fully accept the recent conclusion of V. A. Jakobson that “the data presented points to the *šakintu* being a particular category of priestesses” (English summary p. 277 of his article in *Peredneaziatskiy Sbornik* III [1979] 243–5), although it is perfectly possible, as he also suggests, the *šakintu* was normally childless.

3. *šá* U.U. As a result of slightly careless copying this group of signs has often been misunderstood as (LÚ.)GAR MAN and taken as *šakin šarri*. This profession was identified in CTN II No. 31, note to l. 3, à propos the designation LÚ *ša šarri* (though we may take the opportunity to note that in this text we should perhaps prefer LÚ *ša-šar-ri* [cf. AHw. 1197 s.v. *šašarû?*]). As mentioned there, the title is found in the Sultan Tepe list in the same section as the coppersmith, stone-cutter and the engraver, and he must therefore be an expert craftsman. Unfortunately we are still unable to suggest a plausible interpretation of the logogram U.U. Unfortunately the letter recently published in CT 53, No. 149, tells us only that he could be entrusted with some ritual duties in a temple, and does not offer any hints as to the precise nature of his craft (see S. Parpola, LAS 310).

*The two types of šaknu.* With these irrelevancies cleared from our path, we may now turn to the administrative functions of the *šaknu* himself, and we see two distinct officials with this title: the provincial governor, and an official somewhat lower in the hierarchy. A similar conclusion was reached by R. A. Henshawe (JAOS 87 [1967] 517–525 and 88 [1968] 461–483), and indeed it has been clear for many years that not all the officials termed *šaknu* were provincial governors, but we hope to be able to bring some more precision to the function of the lower *šaknu*. Having discussed the governor and the ordinary *šaknu*, we shall turn to the occurrences of *šaknu* in the penalty clauses of legal documents, and finally draw some conclusions and point some comparisons with the later Babylonian sources.

*Šaknu as provincial governor.* By some historical accident Assyria seems to have acquired two words for the provincial governor, which are conventionally rendered as *bēl pihāti* and *šaknu*. Neither of these renderings is strictly accurate for the late Neo-Assyrian period: in the first place, the Assyrian form is *pāhutu* (i.e. *bēl pāhiti*), and in any case writings such as LÚ.NAM-su (ARU 478) or LÚ.EN.NAM-su (ARU 617), as well as LÚ *pa-ha-ti* (cf. AHw 862b s.v. *pīhātu(m)* I.5), prove that the *bēl* was dropped in speech, leaving *pāhas-su* to mean by itself “his governor”. This change is reflected in later Babylonian, and in the Hebrew derivative, as indicated in AHw., loc. cit. Secondly, with regard to *šaknu*, a more accurate rendering would be *šakin* + X = “governor of X”: not invariably, but in the great majority of cases, *šaknu* without the name of a province after it will refer to the lower rank of *šaknu*, and the fact that it is not often found in letters or administrative documents meaning “governor”, *pāhutu* being much more usual, may indeed be because possible ambiguity was thereby avoided.

There is one ambiguity of which the scribes themselves must have been perfectly aware, and which in fact occasions no confusion except for the modern transcriber: are we to write, for instance, LÚ *šá-kin* URU *ninua* or LÚ.GAR KUR URU *ninua*? The Assyrians knew perfectly well whether to say *šakin Ninua* or *šakin māt Ninua*; indeed, perhaps either was acceptable, and in any case the reality is unchanged. However, the ambiguity of the sign KUR has caused trouble in one context, that is the group LÚ.GAR.KUR by itself: this usually stands for *šakin māti* “governor of the land (of Assur)” — i.e. of the province of Assur itself.



Frequently it has been misunderstood as *ša-kin*, but we have been unable to find any certain case where the two signs GAR.KUR form a “pseudo-ideogram” for forms of *šaknu* other than the construct *šakin* + X, which they can represent syllabically.<sup>1</sup>

It has often been asserted that there is some delicate distinction between the post of *šaknu* of a province and that of (*bēl*) *pāhiti*. However, since the same person is at different times given each title apparently for the same post, this seems unlikely, and any difference in origin must have coalesced by the early 8th century (cf. CTN II p. 8<sup>21</sup>).

*Šaknu as an official below the rank of governor.* If the occurrences of the term *šaknu* on its own, not therefore referring to the provincial governor, are examined, certain clear categories emerge. The best attested is a *šaknu* acting as an officer connected with the cavalry of the Assyrian army, and after him comes a *šaknu* in charge of foot-soldiers. Other categories are less easy to define, so to begin with we will take these two.

#### A. The cavalry *šaknu*

1. GAR-*nu*<sup>meš</sup> *ša pīt-ḫal* (ADD 834:10; coll.) “cavalry *šaknus*” from a list of military and civilian officials; note on the other hand *ibid.* 12 GAR-*nu*<sup>meš</sup> A.MAN “*šaknus* of the crown prince”. [NB. ADD 815 (+900 + 986) mentions various LÚ *ša pīt-ḫal*, who should probably be taken thus, as horsemen, rather than as LÚ.GAR *pīt-ḫal* in view of the clear *ša* in ADD 834]
2. lū LÚ.GAR.MEŠ *zak-ki-e lū* LÚ.GAR.MEŠ *pīt-ḫal lū* LÚ *qur-bu-ti lū* LÚ *ša GÌR.2* (E. Klauber, PRT 44:6; coll.—copy has MI in place of *pīt-ḫal*!) “whether the *šaknus* of the exempted (officials), or the *šaknus* of the cavalry, or the courtiers or the bodyguards”.
3. PAP 4 LÚ *šak-nu-te ša pīt-ḫal ma-a-si* (ND 2386. iii. 6–7; coll. TCAE 372) “In all, four *šaknus* of the cavalry in the stables”—from a text detailing assignment of officials to posts, including *mušarkisu* and *šaknu*.
4. PAP 237 KUR.MEŠ LÚ *šak-nu-te [ša] ma-a-si* (CTN I Pl. 53. ii. 11–13) “In all, 237 horses—the *šaknus* of the stables”—totalling a contribution of horses and mules from these *šaknus*.
5. [x LÚ.G]AR-*nu*<sup>meš</sup> *ma-a-si* (ADD 835:3)—in a list of miscellaneous officials.
6. LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR *qur-ub-te* LÚ *pīt-ḫal qur-ub-te* LÚ.GAR-*nu-te ma-a-si* (Borger, Ash. p.106:16) “the personal chariotry, the personal cavalry, the *šaknus* of the stables . . .”—from a list of military and civilian personnel from conquered lands added by Esarhaddon to his “royal corps” (*kisir šarrūti*).

These examples show quite clearly that there was a *šaknu* in charge of cavalry and a *šaknu* in charge of the stables; from example 3 we may be entitled to deduce that this is in fact one and the same office—the title in full being “*šaknu* of the cavalry-horses of the stables”. When we write “cavalry” we do mean the horses and not their riders; for although in some instances ambiguity results from the fact that the word for “cavalry-man” was *ša pithalli*, these officials are in fact seen to be specifically concerned with the animals, not the men—e.g. examples 3 and 4—and in example 2 there is no *ša* to create the ambiguity. Note also the seller in ADD 172 who was “officer of the horses of the new palace” (LÚ.GAR-*nu ša* ANŠE.KUR.MEŠ *ša É GIBIL*).

In addition to these explicit references, there are several occasions in our sources where the *šaknu* is concerned with horses, and we could reasonably assume that he was in fact the same official. Among the provincial governors and others sending in horses and mules to a collection-point in Nineveh before a campaign, we find Aššur-belu-taqqin

<sup>1</sup> We do not mean to state categorically that this is impossible, merely that we do not consider it proven. Even in K 4395.vi.30 LÚ *ša-kin* may also be read LÚ.GAR.KUR = *šakin māti*, or rather *šakin māt(-X)*, meaning “provincial governor”.

LÚ.GAR-*nu* (No. 27) and the LÚ.GAR-*nu*<sup>meš</sup> (No. 8; see TCAE 8 ff.; but note that here the animals are strictly yoke horses and not for riding, although the difference may not signify). In other contexts the *šaknu* is mentioned in the same breath as the *mušarkisu*, who was often connected with horses: so in ABL 153 (cf. TCAE 257) and in ABL 630, which is particularly unequivocal: “Now, should the team-commanders (*rab urāte*), whether a *šaknu* or a *mušarkisu*, who are going to their ‘call-up’ (*bitqu*), pass on, or should they [. . . .]?” (ABL 630: 12’–18’; cf. TCAE 287). In CT 53, 136, which transmits an instruction from the king (to an official or officials whose name and rank are unfortunately lost), we read “gather together urgently your *šaknus* together with the commanders of your cavalry” (LÚ.GAR-*nu-ku-nu a-du’ ša-pi-ri pūt-ḫal-ku-nu ki-ir-ka-ni ár-ḫiš*, 11. 7–9). Unfortunately, the respective roles of the *šaknu* and the *šāpiru*—not a very common title—remain unclear in this letter.

In administrative documents from Fort Shalmaneser, as well as ND 10,001, mentioned above (CTN I, Pl. 53), we find LÚ *šak-nu-te* in a list of personnel which is badly damaged, but includes a *rab urāte* (ND 10,003, as yet unpublished); while another list of personnel of uncertain purpose (ND 10,004) begins with <sup>1</sup>*aš-šur-[x]*-PAP GAR-*nu*, and includes also a certain Kišir-Aššur GAL *ki-šir šu* <sup>1</sup>*aš-šur-rim-ni* GAR-*nu* LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR *taḫ-lip* (i. 17–19) “Kišir-Aššur, the captain, under the command of Aššur-rimanni, the *šaknu* of the armoured(?) chariotry”. References like this one make it clear that there were *šaknus* responsible for the chariotry as well as for the riding horses, despite the apparent bias of the first six examples quoted towards the *pīḫallu*. A decision is sometimes difficult because it is clear from the following section that the *šaknu* could also be in charge of the men using the horses, rather than of the horses themselves.

B. *The šaknu in charge of troops*. This possibility is the more likely because in other contexts a *šaknu* is encountered who is clearly in charge of a body of soldiers (or of individuals who no doubt formed one of such a body). So in ABL 419 two *šaknus* of the Itu’ayu are disrupting life by camping outside the city wall of Assur. ABL 610, which is written to the king probably by a provincial governor, reports on the difficulty he is having in persuading some troops to come and fulfil their service obligations; the first steps were described thus: “now I sent their *šaknu* to them, saying “Come and I will review you, take you down into the . . . (*ummu*), and give you your equipment”—but they paid no attention, did not come, and maltreated their *šaknu*”. In ABL 537 Shamash-bel-ušur, quite possibly the governor of Arzuhina, writes to the king about reuniting some deported Babylonians (*Labdudayu*) with their families, and asks the king to issue instructions “to Balasu, their *šaknu*”. Similar contexts are provided by ABL 1180 (cf. TCAE 295) and 1104, where stone threshold-blocks are being transported by the *rab-kallapāni*, the stone-engraver (*kapšarru*) and the officers (LÚ.GAR-*nu*<sup>meš</sup>), the last presumably being responsible for the men providing the traction.

Since the *šaknu* commanded a body of men, it follows that each of these men came individually under the administrative jurisdiction of the *šaknu*. Hence we found Kišir-Aššur a captain (*rab kišri*), under the command of (*qāt*) a *šaknu* (see ND 10,004 above); similarly in ABL 567:10–12 a number (80+) of troops are *ša šu.2 PN* LÚ *šak-ni*, and in an important passage a weaver, seller of some land, is said to be *ša šu.2 PN* LÚ.GAR-*nu* (Mosul Museum tablet; No. 1 in forthcoming publication by Dr. Behijeh Khalil Ismail and the writer). An identical case is BM 123384 (*Iraq* 32 [1970] 142 No. 9): NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB PN LÚ *ši-du-na-a-ša* šu.2 PN LÚ.GAR-*ni*, and very likely ADD 307 (see FNALD No. 13) is similar, although the title *šaknu* does not appear on the tablet. The association with a particular *šaknu* was not a transitory matter: the fact that it is worthy of mention in legal contexts shows this, and it also follows from phrases like LÚ.GAR-*nu-šu* PN “his *šaknu* PN” (ABL 639:6) or PN LÚ.GAR-*nu-šu* šá PN<sub>2</sub> (witness to sale of a woman, IM 76899) “PN, the *šaknu* of PN<sub>2</sub>”.

If we are to suggest that the *šaknu* was a military officer, the question immediately arises in what relation he stood to the other known officers, such as the *rab kišri* and the *rab*

*hanšē*.<sup>2</sup> The evidence, though sparse, points unmistakably to the *šaknu* as the higher officer: in ND 10,004 we saw a *rab kišri* under the command of (*qāt*) a *šaknu*; in several contexts the *rab kišri* is mentioned after the *šaknu*, suggesting that he held the lower rank (ABL 557:20; IM 76882:26'–28'; and the examples from legal texts quoted below as 5, 6, and 7). Even more suggestive, though unfortunately too broken for certainty, is ABL 639:2'–8', where the best sense may be given by translating "I appointed him (as) a second captain (*rab kišri*) with Naga"—and Naga is known from 1.6' to be a *šaknu*.

This evidence therefore indicates that the *šaknu* could be an officer in the military hierarchy, whether in command of chariots, cavalry, or foot-soldiers, and beneath him were captains (*rab kišri*) as well as "commanders of 50". Like them, he had administrative responsibility for his men outside the sphere of military operations, and this can be reflected in his participation or at least his naming in legal documents relating to one of his men. The writer has recently drawn attention to the role of the "cohort" (*kišru*) in Assyrian central government, and it was established that this group of men, doubtless in origin a military unit, was used as the basis for the organization of a whole variety of civilian employments and trades which fell under the control of the central government (cf. M. T. Larsen (ed.), *Power and Propaganda* [Mesopotamia 7; Copenhagen 1979] 210–12). What applies to the *rab kišri* must equally apply to his superior officer the *šaknu*. Hence there is a *šaknu* in charge of government officials exempted from military service by the nature of their job (LÚ.GAR.MEŠ *zak-ki-e* PRT 44:6), and in the Mosul Museum text quoted above we find that Nabu-balassu-iqbi, named as the *šaknu* commanding the weaver Zabdi, is also described in the list of witnesses as LÚ.GAR-*nu* *ša* LÚ *ma-ḫi-ša-a-ni* (l. 41). It is probable that a great expansion of the *kišru* system took place in the reign of Esarhaddon, who claims himself to have "greatly increased the royal contingent (*kišir šarrūti*)" by adding "craftsmen, scribes, shield-bearers, scouts, farmers, shepherds and gardeners" to the personnel directly employed by the central government. It is certainly as a result of this procedure (whichever king was directly responsible) that we find Egyptians (IM Nineveh texts) and a Sidonian (*Iraq* 32 [1970] 142) under the command of a *šaknu*.

C. *The term šaknu outside Assyria*. In the Assyrian correspondence we do find mentions of a *šaknu* who was obviously part of the Babylonian or Urartian administration. In Babylonia he was clearly always a high official, but certainly not always a provincial governor. Space does not permit us to go into details, but anyone who considers ABL 287 (Nippur), 524 (Bit-Dakkuri), 763 (Larak), 846 (Zanaka), 863 (Sea-Land) and 1431 (Bit-Dakkuri) will, I hope, concur with this assessment. It is not often clear whether the official is locally appointed or sent in from Assyria: both were possible, since ABL 1215 r. 3 mentions "an Assyrian *šaknu*", and another *šaknu* at Nippur, with an Assyrian name, was appointed "to forward the sealed orders and messengers of the king in Nippur" (ABL 238 r. 8–10). No doubt the *šaknu* in ABL 414, who seems to have been in charge of a marching-post "in which there are no people"—except for a (*rab*) *kišri*—had much the same function in Syria.

As for Urartu, there is less evidence, but it seems equally clear there too that the *šaknu* was an important official, with military responsibilities. Presumably they were not, in fact, termed *šaknu*, but known by their native Urartian title, and the use of *šaknu* by the Assyrian scribes will reflect the meaning they assigned to the term in their own administra-

<sup>2</sup> In TCAE 221 it was stated that the *kišru* held 50 men; but this was with the mistaken assumption that the *rab kišri* = the *rab hanšē*. Evidently it is equally possible, and perhaps more likely, that the *kišru*, which we know was the basic unit of Assyrian chariotry, held not only 100 horses but also 100 men, two of each to each chariot: this would account for the passage quoted from ABL 273. Nevertheless, it seems improbable that the same system involved units of both 100 and 50 men, and hence an explanation of the *rab hanšē* needs to look outside the *kišru* system. Provisionally, we suggest that the military auxiliaries (e.g. Itu'aeans) and other, not necessarily military, groups of non-Assyrians in government service were divided into 50s. The correct explanation may of course be more complex; for the *rab hanšē* in Assyria (and Babylonia) see J. Zabłocka, *Stosunki agrarne w państwie sargonidów*, 104–5<sup>312</sup>.

tive hierarchy. One of Assur-rešua's letters from the Urartian frontier reports on the movement of "3,000 foot-soldiers, officers (LÚ.GAR-*nu-te*) and sappers (?—LÚ.GAR *kal-lab*<sup>meš</sup>)", making their military associations quite explicit. Note also CT 53, 95, in which Ša-Assur-duppu, governor of Tušhan and eponym for 707 B.C., talks about the "officers of the Urartians and the [Šubrians?]" (Rev. 23: LÚ.GAR-*nu*<sup>meš</sup> ša KUR URI-a-a ša KUR[ —but possibly "of the Urartian (king)"]. A similar use of the term *šaknu* to refer to officers of a foreign power is presumably to be seen in CT 53, 237.A.11': LÚ.GAR-*nu* LÚ.GAR-*nu*<sup>meš</sup>-*ia i-se-šú*[ "an officer (and) my officers with him", in a letter dealing with southern affairs in the area of Iqbi-bel.

D. *Šaknu in legal documents.* In the penalty clauses of Neo-Assyrian conveyances a provision is usually made that anyone who challenges the validity of the transaction shall undergo some penalty. Sometimes the "anyone clause" is as simple as *mannu ša ipparri-kūni*, but more often this is expanded by adding "whether PN [=the seller], or his sons, or his sons' sons, etc.". The list can be prolonged by mentioning the brothers and nephews, and other persons, usually some kind of official, who might initiate legislation against the new purchaser or his sons. Among these officials we sometimes meet a *šaknu*, and we give below a list of such clauses which contain the term. No claim is made that the list is complete, for many broken and uninformative passages have been deliberately excluded, but it does fairly represent the available evidence. The passages are grouped according to the persons named, and the seller(s) with his (/their) relatives, who are generally mentioned at the head of the list, have been omitted.

- 1 *lū šaknu-šu(nu)* ARU 57; 102; 418; 624; BT 22
- 2a *lū šaknu-šu(nu) lū mammanu-šun(nu)* ARU 113; 37; 341; ND 3426
- 2b *lū šaknu-šunu lū mammanu-šunu qurbu* ARU 444
- 2c *lū šaknu-šu(nu) lū qurub-šu(nu)* ARU 41; 105(?)
- 2d *lū šaknu-šu lū qurub-šu lū mammanu-šu* ARU 159
- 3a *lū šaknu-šu(nu) lū hazannu URU-šu(nu)* ARU 89; ADD 1153 (!?)
- 3b *lū šaknu-šu(nu) lū hazannu-šu(nu) lū mammanu-šunu* ARU 68
- 3c *lū šaknu lū hazannu lū mammanu-šunu qurbu* CTN 2:15
- 3d *lū šaknu-šunu lū hazanna-šunu lū mammanu-šunu qurbu* ARU 211
- 4a *lū pāḥas-su lū šaknu-šu [lū hazan]nu URU-šu* ARU 133
- 4b *lū šaknu-[šunu lū] hazanna-šunu lū pāḥas-[sunu] lū mammanu-šunu qurbu* ARU 167
- 5 *lū šaknu-šu lū rab kišri-šu lū mammanu-šu* ARU 658
- 6 *lū šaknu-šu lū rab kišri-šu lū qurub-šu lū hazannu URU-šu lū mammanu-šu* ARU 376
- 7 *lū šaknu-šu lū rab ḥanšē-šu lū* [ ARU 44
- 8 *lū mammanu-šu lū šaknu-šu lū bēl ilki-šu* ARU 625; ADD 1181
- 9 *lū mamma qurub-šu [lū b]ēl ilki-šu lū šaknu [lū š]āpiru lū hazannu* [ CTN 2:31
- 10 *lū šaknu lū šāpiru lū mamma bēl ilki-šu* ARU 96a
- 11 *lū mammanu-šu qurbu lū ša rēši bēl ilki-šu lū hazannu lū šaknu lū qēpu lū rab URU.MEŠ*  
*lū bēl pāḥiti lū mamma zaqpu* CTN 2:17
- 12 *lū bēl ilki-šunu [(lū x) lū ša]kan-šunu* CTN 2:32
- 13 *lū šakan-šu lū (bēl-)pāḥiti URU-šu* CTN 2:27
- 14 *lū rubū urkū lū šaknu-šu lū qurub-šu lū mammanu-šu lū bēl-ilki lū bēl azanni-šu*  
ND 5550

Three broad possible translations suggest themselves for the term *šaknu* in these contexts: "(provincial) governor", "appointed person", and "officer". As to the first, the presence of the (bēl-)pāḥiti in the lists (cf. 4, 11, 13) makes it perfectly plausible that the governor should have been named among the persons possibly involved, but since *šaknu* is always given in these passages, and not always next door to the (bēl-)pāḥiti, it seems obvious that it does not mean "governor" here. Moreover, one would certainly expect *šakin māti-šu* in that case, rather than plain *šaknu*.

*Šaknu*, meaning “an appointed person”, could indeed refer to a person entrusted by another to act on his behalf in a legal case. However, despite the weighty authority of von Soden (“Beauftragter von oder für”, AHW 1141b), we do not believe that this can be the correct translation here. The decisive argument comes from ARU 658, a court document: Hani has been given in debt-slavery or pledge since he is unable to pay for the sheep he stole and the blood-money for the man he killed. The judge rules that whosoever wants him (*ú-ba-u-šu-u-ni*), whether his *šaknu* or his captain (*rab kišri*) or anyone of his, shall pay these debts and release him. It is evident that Hani himself is in no position to release himself, since this possibility finds no mention in the text, and his family and land are also forfeit, and therefore he cannot have appointed another person to act in his interests either.<sup>3</sup> The evidence therefore points to the third choice of “officer”: hence in these clauses the *šaknu* must, like the *rab kišri*, the *hazannu*, and the provincial governor, have been an official who by virtue of his administrative relationship with the person might have had some legal hold on him which could give him a claim on his person or his property.

Before proceeding to consider this relationship, let us first dispose of the possible objection that the variations in the formula demonstrate that we are not dealing with a rigidly determined list but rather a haphazard assemblage of titles, etc., drawn by the scribes from a hat. It must be admitted that there was no firm rule as to which titles were listed, and in what order; but this does not of itself condemn the legal accuracy of the scribes. It was not a careless repetition of jumbled phrases, as is shown by the occasional detail: where the seller was a eunuch, his sons were not listed (cf. CTN 2:17 or CTN 2:57, where the brothers, and not, as usual, the sons of the purchaser are mentioned, and he is a eunuch, as is known from No. 17). Similarly, the fact that the seller is a eunuch in CTN 2:17 (No. 11 above) is the reason why a eunuch is mentioned as his *bēl ilki*.

In any case, the origin of the legal link between the *šaknu* and the persons involved in the legal transaction is clear. Like the other officials, he was entitled to claim from them either personal service or payments which arose from his administrative powers. It is known that the powers vested in the *rab kišri* come from the *ilku* system (cf. for example CT 53:13 r. 12–17), and the same will apply to the *šaknu*; the connection with *ilku* is underlined by the use of the phrase *bēl ilki* in some of the texts (cf. Nos. 8; 9; 10; 11; 12; 14 above, and TCAE 67–8). In conclusion, the *šaknu* mentioned in these clauses may be confidently identified with the *šaknu* we have already described in the military hierarchy, and the fact that he precedes the *rab kišri* or the *rab hanšē* when they are mentioned together must reflect his higher position in the administration. That the mention of the *šaknu* in the penalty clauses was not an idle formality can be deduced from those legal documents mentioned above under B., in which one of the parties to the transaction is said to be in the charge of (*qāt*) his *šaknu*.

*Conclusions.* In the first instance the *šaknu* in the Assyrian empire was a military officer of fairly high rank, sometimes with specific responsibility for horses, but also in command of regular and auxiliary troops. His role also extended into civilian or peace-time administration<sup>4</sup> in two ways: as a military officer he was responsible for collecting the commuted *ilku* payments from those officials and others who had achieved exemption from military service in person, and, where the troops he commanded were Aramaean mercenaries (Itu’aeans, Gurraeans, etc.) or other, more recently conscripted members of the “royal contingent”, he remained directly responsible for them in war and peace alike. In these respects he had the

<sup>3</sup> See also the dedication text, ARU 44, where much the same arguments apply.

<sup>4</sup> The mention of the *šaknu* in Exx. 9, 11, 12 and 13 above shows that the title’s use reaches back at least into the early 8th century, although at this date his function may have been more purely military. For the high rank of the *šaknu* in later years, compare Assur-ban-apli’s statement that “no governor was appointed and no officer commissioned without me” (LÚ.GAR-*nu*; M. Streck, VAB 7, 258, 28).

same function as the *rab kišri* or the *rab hanšē*, only at a higher level. The central role of the *šaknu* within the organization of the employees of the central government is vividly illustrated by the letter CT 53, 78 + 426, which must have been written by an elder statesman to the young Assur-ban-apli shortly after his accession. Referring to subjects who have appealed to the king for justice, the author writes: "If he is a servant (īr) of the king (and) has complained about his officer (LÚ šak-ni-šu) or his governor, let them give his officer (or) governor? a dressing-down; if a servant (ur-du) of an Assyrian, let them give his master a dressing-down".

We have already discussed, although rather inconclusively, the *šaknu* as he appears in Babylonia under Assyrian control. Under the Neo-Babylonian empire it is possible that he had a similar role, although we have not examined the evidence for this. However, the Achaemenid administration of the Nippur district, as reflected in the Murašû archive, does give a parallel which can hardly be fortuitous. There land-owners or tenants were liable to an annual payment of taxes to the state. These taxes were *ilku* obligations, either in the form of personal military service or as commuted payments: "Dans chaque canton . . . un *šaknu* (praepositus) assisté d'un 'second' (*šanû*) est responsable de la perception des impôts féodaux (*ilkû*)" (G. Cardascia, *Les archives des Murašû*, 7). Each *šaknu* was responsible for a group of tax-payers called a *ḫatru* (exact spelling uncertain); the groups were composed of officials (e.g. scribes), craftsmen (e.g. carpenters, shepherds) and ethnic groups (e.g. Cimmerians, Urartians; cf. CAD H 24). Much discussion has been devoted to the nature of the *ḫatru*, but it seems to us that San Nicolò is closest to reality when he doubts "the existence of associations formed on an autonomous basis" and prefers to see only "a bureaucratic organization of the artisans employed in state enterprises" (from the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, 4, 204 ff., quoted after D. B. Weisberg, *Guild Structure and Political Allegiance*, 87). As far as the Murašû archives are concerned we would however go further than this: the taxes collected are exclusively *ilku* dues, of various kinds but all with their origin in the obligation to perform military service, and consequently, just as in Assyria some two centuries earlier, the officials responsible for collecting these taxes will have been *military* officers in the first instance. We therefore suggest that the *ḫatru* is the descendant of the Assyrian *kišru*.<sup>5</sup> Since there is one *šaknu* to each *ḫatru*, and there are some sixty of these round Nippur alone (see G. Cardascia, *Les Archives des Murašû*, 191<sup>2</sup>), the place of the Assyrian *rab kišri* must have been taken by the *šaknu*, who has thus suffered a drop in rank, although his essential role remains unchanged. In all other respects it seems to us that the Achaemenid system could have been taken directly from 7th century Assyria, where the *kišru* could also comprise officials and craftsmen, and the *šaknu* commanded contingents of recently conscripted foreigners. Since "the entire existing system of land tenure connected with service" was "evidently introduced by the Persian administration" (M. Dandamayev, *Ancient Mesopotamia* [Moscow 1969] 306), it is perfectly possible that the system did indeed come from Assyria, as a result of the years during which Media was incorporated within the Assyrian provincial system.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> The equivalence *ḫatru* = *kišru* accords very opportunely with the recent suggestion of V. A. Livshitz that the first word derives from a Median word meaning "aggregate, union", a substantive from the Old Iranian root *hā(y)-*, "unite, connect" (*Vestnik Drevnei Istorii* 1979/4, 100). This would therefore be a simple loan translation of *kišru* into Persian or Median. On the *ḫatru* in general see recently G. Cardascia, *Armées et fiscalité dans la Babylonie achéménide* (in *Colloques nationaux du C.N.R.S.* No. 936: *Armées et fiscalité dans le monde antique*, Paris 1977).

<sup>6</sup> See also TCAE 224<sup>2</sup>; there are also literary and artistic influences which seem to have passed from Assyria to the Achaemenid empire without a Babylonian intermediary: see for example C. B. F. Walker, *Iran* 10 (1972) 159 or "despite the uncertainty about how Assyrian art influenced Achaemenid art, there can be no doubt that it was directly or indirectly of profound importance and formed the fundamental basis of the Persepolitan style" (M. D. Roaf, *Sculptures and Sculptors at Persepolis* [Oxford, D.Phil. thesis, 1978], I, 295; I am grateful to Dr. Roaf for enabling me to quote this concluding sentence of a ten-page discussion of the question.

*Appendix*

It will hardly have escaped the readers' attention that the question of the *šaknu* has often been discussed in the past, in particular by R. A. Henshawe, "The Office of *šaknu* in Neo-Assyrian Times", in JAOS 87 (1967) 517–525 and 88 (1968) 461–483. Naturally, many of the problems and passages we have dealt with were discussed by Henshawe and others, and their work has largely saved us the necessity of quoting all pertinent passages; there are also differences between us—otherwise this article would be superfluous—but considerations of space prevent us from mentioning all such points of disagreement. However, it does seem advisable to list here some of the major corrections where these result from fresh collations of the originals.

ABL 1239, 7: in place of \**šá-ak-ni* read *šá ziq-ni* (coll.); similarly in ABL 566 r.8 one must restore *lu-u LÚ ša [ziq]-ni [lu-u] LÚ.İR.É.GAL* (coll.).

ADD 77 (=ARU 133), 6: read probably <sup>1</sup>DN-*la-]a-mur* (coll.), and cf. l. 1 -*]a?-mur?* (not collated); the scribe must have forgotten the man's name and then inserted it after "his brothers". In l. 7 LÚ.GAR-*šú* is correct.

ADD 619 (=ARU 47), 8: read probably LÚ *šá* SAGŠU'.MEŠ-*šú* "the hatter" after ABL 1224 r. 11–12 (not collated).

ADD 815 r. ii. 6: instead of 17 GAR-*nu* AN GIŠ.BAN read 19<sup>2</sup> *šá pít-ḫal* 1 GIŠ.BAN (coll.).

ADD 943 r. viii. 4–5: in place of LÚ.EN.NAM LÚ.GAR the tablet has LÚ.GAR KUR *ḫi-in-dan* (yes really ! !).

PRT 44, 6: instead of LÚ.GAR.MEŠ MI read LÚ.GAR.MEŠ *pít-ḫal* (coll.).



## THE TWENTY-ONE "POULTICES"

by W. G. LAMBERT

The purpose of this article is to publish a third version of the ancient Babylonian myth of the Twenty-one "Poultices", and to comment on the mythological content of all three, while leaving details of the strictly medical aspects to others. The two hitherto known versions of this myth are both preserved on Late Assyrian tablets from Assur: *LKA* 146,<sup>1</sup> the whole of which is relevant, and *BAM* 313, of which only part is of direct concern. The tablet published here for the first time, BM 33999, is of Late Babylonian date, probably from Babylon, and is now in the British Museum, by kind permission of whose Trustees it is available.

"Poultices" (*mêlu*) were a common form of Babylonian medicine. A number of drugs, usually between two and four, were combined and then applied to a person's body with the aid of a leather strap or pouch. When specified, the neck is always the part of the body involved, and the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* (sub voce) assumes that this was always the case, but perhaps it would be wise to leave the question open for the present. The Late Assyrian *BAM* 313 offers the largest collection of recipes for "poultices," though only its obverse survives. First it gives a set of fourteen arranged in narrow columns across the tablet. Next it presents the better-known twenty-one arranged in first ten and then eleven narrow columns across the tablet. Finally there is a set of twelve narrow columns with one "poultice" recipe in each. As with the other groups, each is numbered within its series, and to judge from what is preserved, these twelve consisted of a group of eight, followed by a group of four, unless of course the four were continued on the reverse. Only the twenty-one are of interest here, and they also occur, though written out in a single line each, on *LKA* 146 obv. 24 ff. They are preceded on this tablet by an Akkadian incantation (obv. 1–21) dealing with the origin of this group of "poultices," then by the incipit of another related Akkadian incantation ("Ea repeated these 'poultices'": obv. 22), and finally by the incipit (apparently) of a Sumerian incantation ("Enki of the pleasant name, Enki of abundance are you"). Following the twenty-one lines with the "poultices" there is a section formally explaining them (rev. 16 ff.). This section also occurs on *BAM* 313 in two long lines (c, d) across the tablet between the first ten and the last eleven "poultices". Under these last eleven it also gives the incipit of the first incantation on *LKA* 146, perhaps followed by an instruction to recite it. Above the first ten of the twenty-one "poultices" *BAM* 313 also has two lines of script across the tablet, the first summarizing the preceding fourteen "poultices", the second giving the incipits of three Sumerian incantations with the instruction to recite them three times over a "poultice". It is not clear whether this refers to the preceding fourteen or the following twenty-one. The full text of the incantations is given on *BAM* 315 iii 23 ff., and it has no relevance to the myth being studied here. Thus what is of interest is the Akkadian incantation given in full on *LKA* 146 and given by incipit only on *BAM* 313, and the explanatory section preserved on both tablets. As it happens, the new tablet contains a shorter recension of just these two items. Thus we edit and translate the two portions of *LKA* 146, giving the variants of *BAM* 313, and edit in full BM 33999 separately.

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<sup>1</sup> Previous comments on this tablet are given by R. Borger, *HKU* I 107. Abbreviations in this article not found in this journal's list should be sought in the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*.



## LKA 146 Obverse

- 1 é<sup>n</sup> a<sup>dé</sup>-a ina <sup>idé</sup>.silim.ma muš.ḫuš nunuz ur<sub>4</sub>.ur<sub>4</sub>.a.dè
- 2 <sup>a</sup>nabû(nà) eziz(šúr)-ma ina pānī<sup>meš</sup>-šú illak(du)<sup>ak</sup>
- 3 ma-a-ri mi-na-a ezzēta(šúr)<sup>ta</sup>-ma tal-lak
- 4 e ti la an ni KUR-d[u] a-a-nu <sup>u</sup>numun.nu.gi.na
- 5 <sup>a</sup>nu-dīm-mud i-gug-ma sebet apkallī(abgal) eri<sub>4</sub>-[du<sub>10</sub>] e-li-ta il-si
- 6 i-šá-nīm-ma mal-tar <sup>a</sup>a-nu-ti-ia lil-ta-su-u ina pānī-ia
- 7 a-na <sup>a</sup>mu-ū'-a-ti ma-a-ri mu-tib (copy: lil) pānī-ia
- 8 ši-ma-tu lu-šim-šu-ma ir-nit-ta-šú lu-šak-šid-su
- 9 it-ta-šu-nīm-ma il-ta-na-su-u tuppi šīmāti(nam)<sup>meš</sup> ilānī<sup>meš</sup> rabūti<sup>meš</sup>
- 10 šim-ta i-šim-šu-ma a-gu-gu-ta i-din-šu
- 11 an-<sup>a</sup>en-lil-da i-šip-pu eri<sub>4</sub>-du<sub>10</sub>
- 12 21<sup>ta.ām</sup> mē-eli iteppuš(dù.dù)-ma iddin(sum)-šú
- 13 i-si-ma ana elāti(an.ta)<sup>meš</sup> ú-ru it-ti-ka
- 14 elātu(an.ta)<sup>meš</sup> līd-lu-lu qur-di <sup>a</sup>nu-dīm-mud
- 15 abi ilānī<sup>meš</sup> ši-tar-ḫu
- 16 šá-šú-nu ir-nit-ti lu-uk-šu-ud-ma i-<sup>Γ</sup>kaš-šad<sup>Γ</sup>
- 17 dug<sub>4</sub>.ga.ma bēl amāti-ia<sub>5</sub> qí-da-da-niš lu-ur-di-ma iredi(u[š<sup>ad</sup>])
- 18 dug<sub>4</sub>.ga.ma su-pi-ia su-ul-[l]i-ia nis-m[a-a]t [libbi-ia]
- 19 ina pān ili u šarri li-tib i-ta-ab
- 20 dug<sub>4</sub>.ga.ma bēl amāti-ia gíl-la-tú līrši(tuk)<sup>st</sup>-ma irašši(tuk)<sup>st</sup>
- 21 dug<sub>4</sub>.ga.ma kīma u<sub>4</sub>-me lu nam-ra-ku inammer(zálag)<sup>er</sup>

## LKA 146 Reverse

- 16 [2]l mē-elū ša pī a<sup>dé</sup>-a
- 17 [<sup>a</sup>nabû] ul-tú <sup>idé</sup>.silim.ma muš.ḫuš nunuz ur<sub>4</sub>.ur<sub>4</sub>.a.dè
- 18 [u]l-tu qí-rib apsī ú-še-la-a
- 19 nu-[ú]r ili ni-is-mat libbi-šú ikaššad(kur)<sup>ad</sup>
- 20 eli bēl amāti-šú izzáz(gub)<sup>az</sup>
- 21 kīma u<sub>4</sub>-me i-nam-me-er
- 22 ni-iš qātī<sup>II</sup>-šú ilu-šú i-ma-ḫar-šú
- 23 šu-um-me-rat libbi-šú ilu-šú ú-šak-šad-su
- 24 ana pān <sup>a</sup>šamaš nūr(zálag) mātāti(kur.kur) a-bu-us-su ileqqe(ti)<sup>ad</sup>

## Variants of BAM 313

Obv. 1 = e: om. ina; <sup>a</sup>muš.ḫuš, ur<sub>4</sub>.ur<sub>4</sub>.e.dè Rev. 17 = c: TA, ur<sub>4</sub>.ur<sub>4</sub> 18 = c: TA

## BM 33999 (Sp 95)

- 1 [én a<sup>dé</sup>]-a ina <sup>idé</sup>.silim <sup>a</sup>muš.ḫuš nunuz ur<sub>4</sub>.ur<sub>4</sub>.e.dè
- 2 [<sup>a</sup>nà eziz(šúr)]-ma ina pānī<sup>meš</sup>-šú izzáz(gub)<sup>az</sup> ma-ri mi-na-a
- 3 [ezzēta(kúš)]<sup>ta</sup>-m[a tazáz(gub)<sup>az</sup> e te la a ni AN KUR-du
- 4 [a-a]-nu <sup>u</sup>numun.nu.gi.na <sup>a</sup>nu-dīm-mud i-gu-ú-ma
- 5 [sebet ap]kallī(a)bgal) apsī ma-li-tú il-si i-šá-nīm-ma
- 6 [ma]-al-tar <sup>a</sup>a-nu-ti-ia<sub>5</sub> lil-ta-su-u ina pānī-ia<sub>5</sub>
- 7 [a-n]a <sup>a</sup>nabû(MUATI) kab-ti ma-ri mu-tib pānī{KU.ŠU}-ia<sub>5</sub>
- 8 [šim-t]u lu-šim-šú-ma
- 9 [i]r-nit-ta-šú lu-šak-šid-su

## LKA 146 Obverse

- 1 As Ea was in the river “House of Peace where the *mušhuš*-Monster gathers eggs/  
gemstones”
  - 2 Nabû went furiously before him.
  - 3 “My son, why are you going about furiously?”
  - 4 “..... where is the “Unreliable Seed” plant?”
  - 5 Nudimmud became angry and summoned the seven sages of Eridu in high tones,
  - 6 “Bring the document of my Anuship that it may be read before me,
  - 7 That I may decree the destiny for Mu’ati,
  - 8 The son who makes me happy, and grant him his desire.”
  - 9 They brought and read the tablet of destinies of the great gods,
  - 10 He decreed the destiny for him and gave him . . .
  - 11 Anenlilda, the purification priest of Eridu,
  - 12 Made twenty-one “poultices” and gave them to him,
  - 13 “Take them to the upper world, carry them with you,
  - 14 That the upper world may praise the heroic qualities of Nudimmud,
  - 15 The magnificent father of the gods.”
  - 16 . . . “May I be granted my desire,” he will be granted it.
  - 17 Should he say, “May I pursue my prosecutor headlong,” he will pursue him.
  - 18 Should he say, “May my prayers, petitions and longings
  - 19 Be pleasing before god and king,” they will be pleasing.
  - 20 Should he say, “May my prosecutor bear guilt,” he will bear it.
  - 21 Should he say, “May I shine like sunlight,” he will shine.
- 

## LKA 146 Reverse

- 16 Twenty-one “poultices” composed by Ea,
  - 17 [(Which) Nabû] brought up from the river “House of Peace
  - 18 Where the *mušhuš*-Monster gathers eggs/gemstones”, from the Apsû.
  - 19 . . . he will attain his longings,
  - 20 He will prevail over his prosecutor,
  - 21 He will shine like sunlight,
  - 22 His god will receive his entreaties,
  - 23 His god will grant him the desires of his heart,
  - 24 And will take his part before Šamaš, light of the lands.
- 

Variants of *BAM* 313

21 = d: *i]n-na-mer*    22 = d: *IGI.šú*(copy *IGI*)    23 = d: *su-me-rat libbi-šú KUR-ád*

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## BM 33999 (Sp 95)

- <sup>1</sup>As Ea was in the river “House of Peace where the *mušhuš*-Monster gathers eggs/gemstones”  
<sup>2</sup>[Nabû] stood [furiously] before him,  
 “My son, why <sup>3</sup>do you stand [furiously]?”  
 “..... <sup>4</sup>[where] is the ‘Unreliable Seed’?”  
 Nudimmud became angry and summoned <sup>5</sup>the seven sages of the Apsû in a loud voice,  
 “Bring <sup>6</sup>the document of my Anuship that it may be read before me,  
<sup>8</sup>That I may decree the destiny <sup>7</sup>for Nabû, the revered,  
 The son who makes me happy, <sup>9</sup>and grant him his desire.”

BM 33999 (Sp 95)—(contd.)

10 [i]-ta-šu-nim il-ta-su-u tuppi šīmāti(nam)<sup>meš</sup>11 21 mē-elū(tablet: KA) šá pî<sup>dé-a</sup>12 ša<sup>d</sup>nabû(nà) TAB? TA é.silim13 [<sup>d</sup>mu]š.ḫuš nunuz ur<sub>4</sub>.ur<sub>4</sub>14 [TA q]i-rib ap[sî] ušēlā(e<sub>11</sub><sup>a</sup>)

BM 33999 (Sp 95)—(contd.)

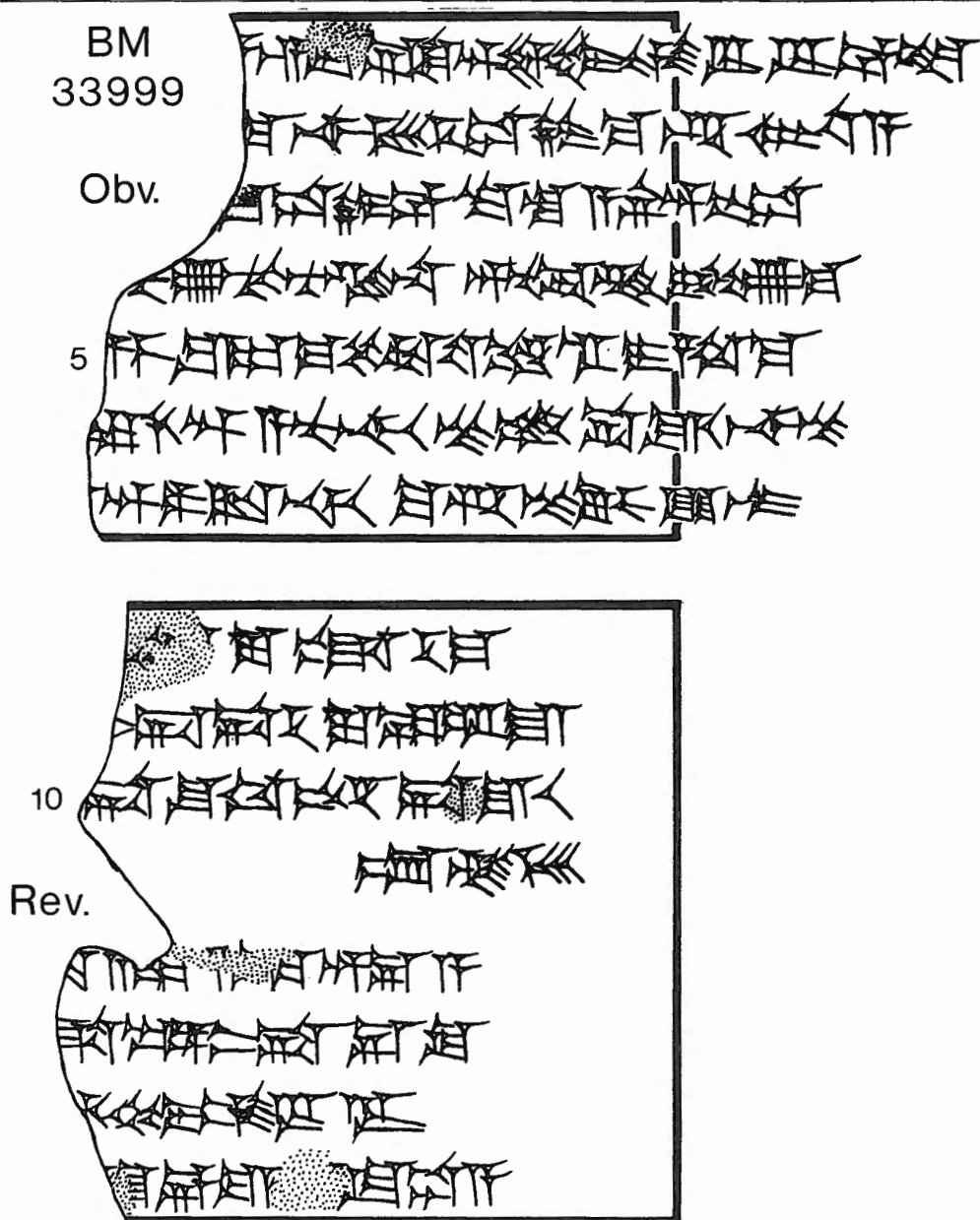
<sup>10</sup>They brought and read the tablet of destinies.<sup>11</sup>Twenty-one “poultices” composed by Ea,<sup>12</sup>Which Nabû brought up from “House of Peace<sup>13</sup>Where the *mušḫuš*-Monster gathers eggs/gemstones”,<sup>14</sup> from the Apsû.

Fig. 1. BM 33999: obverse and reverse.

There is very considerable mystery about these texts. A comparison of the two versions shows that neither is "canonical" in the sense of well edited so as to form part of the traditional scribal corpus. Thus *illak* "goes" in *LKA* obv. 2 corresponds to *izzáz* "stands" in BM 3. The sign *DU* has been interpreted differently in the two versions. For *<sup>d</sup>mu-ù'-a-ti* of *LKA* obv. 7 BM 7 has *<sup>d</sup>PA kab-ti*, an obvious corruption of *<sup>d</sup>mu-ua-ti*. BM is much shorter than *LKA*, omitting the latter's obverse 10-21 and reverse 19-24. The tablet BM is a very small one, 27 × 40 mm, and its compiler clearly knew the twenty-one "poultices", since he refers to them in line 11, but he does not actually give them. Also, the missing line *LKA* obv. 10 is essential to end the myth. One might, then, say that the lack of obverse 11-21 and reverse 19-24 is the result of abbreviation. However, on the other side it can be argued that these two sections are dubious expansions secondarily added to the common lines.

This basic core is the myth explaining the twenty-one "poultices". It starts with Ea in a place which must surely be the Apsû or part of it, since the "poultices" are to be taken up to the regions of men. House of Peace would be sufficient as the name, and River of Peace in the Enki section of An = Anum II (*id.silima*: CT 24 16 25) is a confirmatory parallel. However, the following phrase about the *mušhuš*-monster is also in Sumerian though the text generally is in Akkadian. Thus one could argue that it too is part of the name. If correct, it yields a very long and tortuous place-name. An assumption to avoid taking this phrase as part of the place name would be that this myth goes back to a Sumerian original, and an incompetent redactor, for whatever reason, left this phrase untranslated. The relevance of the *mušhuš* will be considered further later.

In this setting of the Apsû a god called Nabû in line 2, but Muati in line 7, is angry in Ea's presence, who, addressing him as "my son", inquires the reason for the anger. This picture of Nabû in the Apsû is bizarre. First, Ea's son is so generally Marduk, and Nabû is either Marduk's officer or son. Secondly, though "son" can be used for any generation of male descent, it is unexpected in such a context not referring to a physical son in the English sense of the word. Thus one looks more closely at the names. Why Muati?<sup>2</sup> According to late lists this is a name of Nabû, but it is clear that originally they were distinct deities, Muati being spouse of Nanai, a goddess of Uruk very similar in attributes to Ištar, and at times even equated with her. In incompetently edited late copies it is quite possible that an original Muati would be changed to Nabû, because that would be a simplification in terms of late scribal knowledge. The opposite, that an original Nabû got altered to Muati, is implausible, since that would be scribal virtuosity. Thus Muati's relations to Ea need investigation. Little at all is known of him, but since his spouse is a kind of Ištar, we could expect him to be a kind of Tammuz. The only plausible etymology of his name so far known (whether it be the "original" meaning or not is, as always, incapable of being ascertained and of little interest therefore) construes it as an archaic Akkadian infinitive absolute *mu'āti* "dying", which would of course fit a type of Tammuz very well. It is further support for this case that he is told here to take the "poultices" with him to the upper world, since Tammuz regularly made that journey. Also, while Sumerian texts generally seem to know no father of Tammuz, an Akkadian Ištar and Tammuz incantation makes him son of Ea: *bu-kur <sup>anu-dim-mud</sup>* (*BAM* 339 obv. 34 = W. Farber, *Beschwörungsrituale an Ištar und Dumuzi* p. 185). This does not quite constitute proof, but it is strong circumstantial evidence.

To return to Nabû's, or rather Muati's, anger, his own explanation of it to his father is given in *LKA* obv. 4 = BM 3-4, but the first phrase is not intelligible to the present writer at all, except that the last word might be *kašādu* "attain", because of the use of the same verb later in the story. The second phrase is linguistically clear, but the drug or plant

<sup>2</sup> See the discussion of Muati by the present writer in *MIO* 12 (1966), 41 ff.

named seems to occur here alone. With so little understood Ea's resulting anger is equally obscure. His summoning of the seven sages and his fixing of the destiny for his son after the Tablet of Destinies had been read bespeak a major innovation in the functioning of the universe, but what this was is totally obscure, because, apart from granting Muati's wish, the thing granted is called *a-gu-gu-ta* (*LKA* obv. 10), an unknown word, though perhaps bearing the abstract ending *-ūtu*.

Two major problems remain. The first concerns the twenty-one "poultices". Were they somehow the outcome of Muati's anger? One could expect this to be the case, but the textual obscurities prevent our knowing. According to *LKA* obv. 11 f., the sage Anenlilda actually made them up, and it may be significant, and a further argument for taking Muati as a form of Tammuz, that the text correlating the seven sages with early kings makes Anenlilda active in Tammuz' reign.<sup>3</sup>

The second major problem concerns the extra lines in *LKA* and *BAM* as compared with *BM*. They concern having one's wish granted in whatever sphere of life it occurs: stating one's wish results in its fulfilment. This is different from the normal use of "poultices", which serve to cure ailments. These extra lines deal with positive wishes of a non-medical kind. In both cases (*LKA* obv. 16, rev. 19) the section is introduced by something which is meaningless and possibly corrupt: "them" (?) / "their form" (?) and "light of the god(s)" (?). Knowledge of "poultices" (*mēlu*) is not so extensive that the possibility of such applications can be ruled out. It is not certain that the "medical" substances were actually put in contact with the body and were believed to work through the skin. It is possible, perhaps even probable, that they were conceived as charms, which, by their mere presence, kept malign influences away from the one who bore them on his person. As such they could have had power to insure that wishes came true.<sup>4</sup>

A term traditionally rendered "amulet" is important in this connection. It is *aban gabē u maḡāri* (*OIP* 2 132 72-73; *Afo* Beiheft 9 85 51), literally, "a stone of speaking and hearing", which was rightly explained by K. F. Müller in *MVAG* 41/3 35 to mean "speaking" (actively, of a human) and "being heard" (passively, by a god). In short this was a magic stone to guarantee the fulfilment of wishes. Note that *gebū* is used in *LKA* obv. 17-21. The important example of this phrase occurs in the second passage, where Esarhaddon is describing the completion of buildings, apparently in Babylon:

*qí-rib sa x x x muš-huš-šú na-al-bu-bu še-er* <sup>na</sup>*a-lal-lum aban qa-bé-e ù maḡāri*(še.ga)  
*tam-šil bal-ti ú-šar-bi-ša*

In . . . I had a recumbent, raging, life-like *mušhuššu* carved on *alallu*-stone, the stone of speaking and hearing.

In both examples the amulet was a single stone, not a combination of plants and minerals as were "poultices". The choice of a *mušhuššu* for depiction on this one stone will not be mere whim. To the ancients there must have been some connection between either the stone or its function (or both) and this particular monster. Thus the occurrence of *mušhuš* in the first line of the incantation about Muati's wrath is very suggestive. There the animal is gathering *numuz*: either "eggs" (*pelū*) or "egg-shaped beads" (*erimmātu*). As a snake-like creature the *mušhuš* might have had eggs of its own, but one would expect it then to guard them rather than gather them, as though it were a poultry farmer collecting his produce. Thus the gemstones fit the context better. One may be seeing too much in the parallel, but it is possible to conclude from a comparison of the passage in Esarhaddon's inscription with

<sup>3</sup> Published by J. J. A. van Dijk in *UVB* 18 (1962) 44. This sage is given the same title as here in the series *Bīt Mēseri*, see R. Borger, *JNES* 33 (1974), 192.

<sup>4</sup> A case of two different stones being worn on the person to achieve fulfilment of a wish—to be received favourably by the ruler—occurs in *KAR* 71 rev. 19-26.

the phrase of the incantation that perhaps beads of *alallu*-stone were represented as having been gathered by the *mušhuš*-monster in the Apsû. Obviously the suppliers could have asked a higher price if they were believed to have had such an origin. But more evidence is needed before this can be taken as sure.

Thus there is considerable confusion in this text. It is not clear how Muati's anger was occasioned, and how the prescriptions of the twenty-one "poultices" by Ea appeased this anger, if they did. Nor indeed can we understand whether the granting of Muati's wish related exclusively to the production of the twenty-one "poultices". The extra lines in *LKA* deal with wish-fulfilment as a thing in its own right, unrelated to medical aspects of "poultices", but perhaps related to gemstones gathered in the depths of the Apsû by a monster.

The supplying of the "poultices" to the human race is of course part of the Sumero-Babylonian tradition that the arts of civilization were a gift of the gods to men. While Sumerian texts talk of the *mes*, the series Bit Mēseri<sup>6</sup> and Berossus<sup>7</sup> tell of a line of sages at the beginnings of civilization who instructed the human race. One of these appears in the text under study, which is thus related to the general tradition. Its centering on Ea and Muati is a matter of great interest. Neither Enlil nor Marduk appears. Ea holds supreme power, and this is called "Anuship", not "Enlilship". The Adapa legend should be compared, since it centres on Ea, though Anu does appear. At least its folkloristic content is comparable with the popular style of the myth just presented, and quite distinct from the formal theology of such epics as *Enūma Eliš* and *Erra*.

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<sup>5</sup> See especially G. Farber-Flügge, *Der Mythos "Inanna und Enki"*.

<sup>6</sup> R. Borger, *JNES* 33 (1974), 183 ff.

<sup>7</sup> See the second English translation, by S. M. Burstein, *The Babyloniaca of Berossus in Sources and Monographs, Sources from the Ancient Near East I/5* (Malibu, 1978).



## A NOTE ON THE JEWELLERY LISTED IN THE INVENTORY OF MANNINNI (CTH 504)

By K. R. MAXWELL-HYSLOP

Professori Doctissimo, qui nil hethiticae linguae a se alienum putat,  
auctor amicissima hanc disceptatiunculam grato animo dedicat.

The lack of stratified examples of Hittite jewellery emphasizes the importance of the evidence afforded by inventories such as the Inventory of Manninni recently published by Dr S. Kořak.<sup>1</sup> Although many of the words designating specific pieces of jewellery or goldwork cannot yet be translated, a study of the inventories combined with contemporary archaeological evidence can assist in forming a more detailed assessment of the products of Hittite jewellers and gold workers. It is possible to make some tentative suggestions concerning the identification of different types of jewellery mentioned in the Manninni inventory with reference to excavated pieces, some of which, although originating from sites beyond the area of direct Hittite influence yet can be dated to a period contemporary with or slightly earlier than the Hittite inventories. The Manninni inventory has been assigned to the 13th century B.C. by F. Kammenhuber but in Kořak's view it could have been composed at any time during the later Hittite Empire.<sup>2</sup>

### 1. *Earrings*

KUB 12:1 IV 37. 4 *ta-bal* HUB.BI GUŠKIN LÚ ŠÀ.BA [3 *ta-bal* HUB.BI GUŠKIN] NA<sub>4</sub>

2 iš-ta-ma-hu-ru-uš GUŠKIN

"4 pairs of golden earrings for men, among them (3 pairs of earrings of gold and) stones."

Earrings especially designed for men are known from the rich Middle Assyrian tomb 45 at Ashur where one of a pair of large gold earrings, was found on the male skeleton above the right shoulder, (Fig. 1) dated to the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta 1 (1244–1208 B.C.). This elaborate piece is composed of a penannular gold ring to which a pendant of flat, round and lotus-shaped beads made of onyx, jasper, carnelian, lapis-lazuli and gold was attached.

An even more elaborate and smaller version of this type of earring was found *in situ* by the left ear of the female skeleton, (Fig. 2) while the shallow rosette of gold and lapis lazuli attached to the side of the body of the earring is decorated with petals edged with twisted gold wire.

KUB 12:1 IV 39. 1-*nu-tum* HUB.BI SAL<sup>ti</sup> GUŠKIN NA<sub>4</sub> an-da ap-pa-a-a[n  
"1 set of earrings for women, inset with gold and stones."

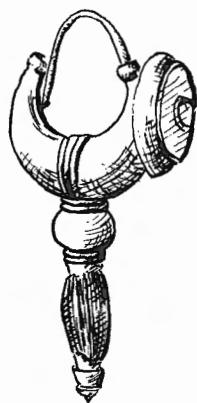
Simple lunate shaped earrings of gold such as the ribbed pair also found on the female skeleton in tomb 45 (Fig. 3) could be the type iš-ta-ma-hu-ru-uš GUŠKIN as opposed to the use of HUB.BI GUŠKIN when both ideographic and phonetic spelling is used as in KUB 12:1 IV 38.

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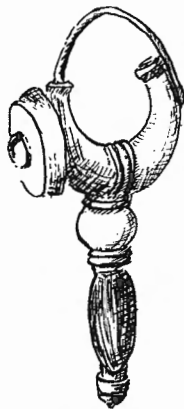
<sup>1</sup>The translations used here are those published by Kořak in *Linguistica* XVIII (Ljubljana 1978), to whom I am grateful for much assistance. His informative commentaries should be consulted by all archaeologists interested in the identification of metal objects mentioned in the texts. See also A. Kempinski and S. Kořak, Hittite Metal Inventories (CTH 242) and their economic implications, in *Tel Aviv* 4, 1–2, 1977.

<sup>2</sup>*Linguistica* XVIII, p. 119.

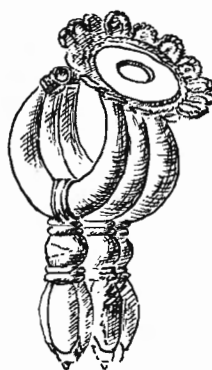




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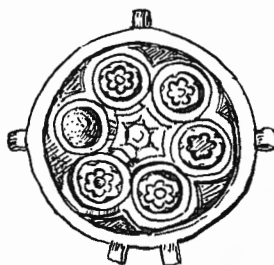
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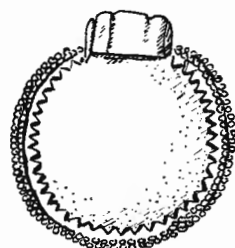
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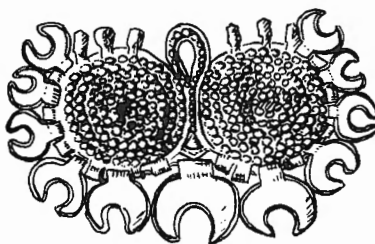
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11



Figs. 1–3: 6–11. Jewellery from Ashur and Boğazköy

Figs. 1–3, 6–8, 10, 11 scale 1:1. Fig. 9 1:2.

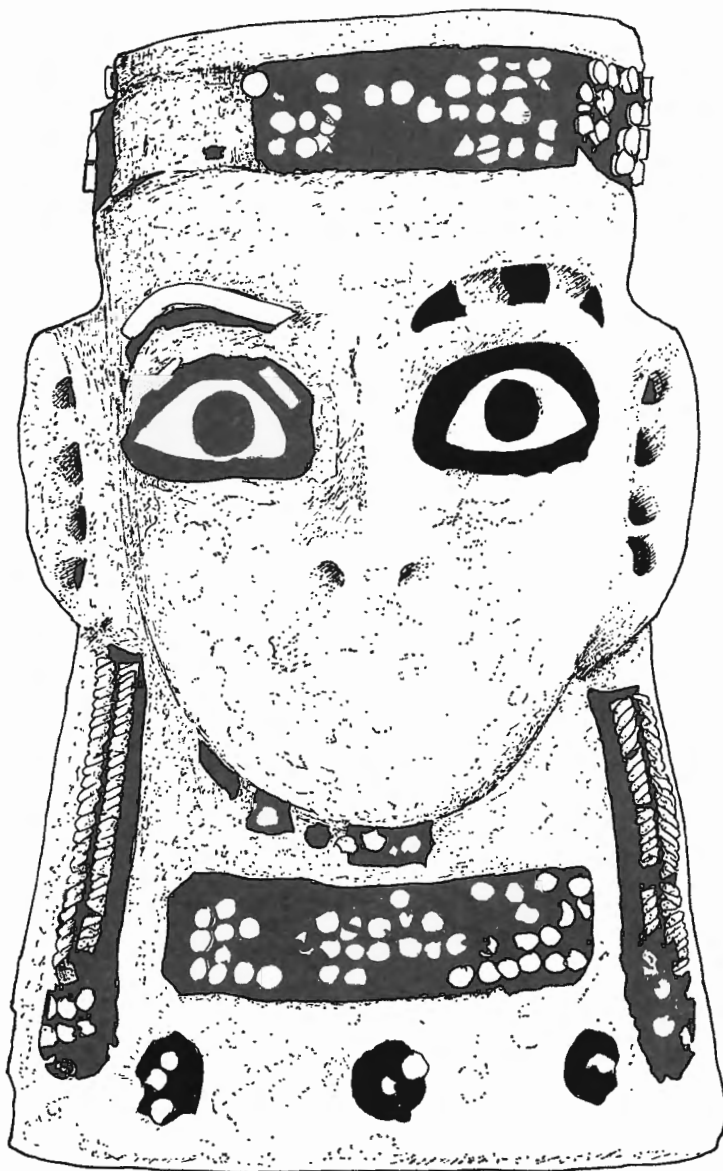


Fig. 4 Glazed frit mask from Rimah. After *Iraq*, XXVIII (1966), pl. XXXIVa. Ht. 11·8 cm.

## 2. Headbands

KUB 12:1 III 8. 2. EME AN.BAR GE<sub>6</sub> GAB lu-pa-an-n[i-eš

“2 strips of black iron for the front of the headbands.”

The use of “black” iron in this context suggests that the appearance of the iron needed to be recorded when iron was used for decorative or special purposes. In decoration this may have been to make a contrast between the copper (or bronze) or gold base of the headband or diadem and the infilling or strips used to decorate the front part of the band which encircled the head across the forehead. A sun-disc (AŠ.ME, Hittite šittar) could be inlaid with “black” iron, blue stone and gold (KUB 42:78, II 13). Iron oxidized to give magnetite would contrast with the silvery appearance of polished iron<sup>3</sup> and could have formed part of the

<sup>3</sup>I owe this suggestion to Professor R. Tylecote.

decoration of headbands such as that shown on the well known glazed frit female head from Tell Rimah (Fig. 4) dated to the period of Shalmaneser I, 1274–1245 B.C., giving the same effect as niello. On the Rimah head bitumen was used possibly to indicate “black iron”.

The use of the term “black” iron apart from decoration is usually confined to small objects of jewellery such as lunulae, rings, or *aramni* birds (KUB 12:1 III 22) and must be distinguished from AN.BAR or ordinary iron which was used for larger objects such as a wash basin (KBo 18:181 rev 31) or a throne (KBo 3:22 rev 74).<sup>4</sup> A third kind of iron AN.BAR. SIG<sub>5</sub>, or good quality iron was used for the base of statues and for 66 objects (unnamed) contained in a chest (KUB 42:21 obv 6).

Bronze strips of metal are also mentioned for use as headbands (KUB 12:1 III 10) or frontlets, and presumably denote the oblong strips of metal worn across the forehead pierced at each end for a string or wire to fix the band round the head and decorated with simple patterns worked with a tracer, punches or in repoussé. (See Commentary by Kořak to KUB 12:1 IV 10, p. 107.) Frontlets of this type are common in Western Asia during the 2nd millennium B.C. and Fig. 5 shows an example from Tell Ajjul in gold which can be dated to the 16th–15th centuries B.C. (For lupan(n)i see now H. G. Güterbock, *The Hittite Dictionary*, Chicago, 1980, Vol. 3/1, s.v.



Fig. 5 Gold frontlet from Ajjul. After Petrie, *Ancient Gaza III*, pl. XIV, J.6. Length 15 cm.

### 3. Necklaces and Pendants

KUB 12:1 IV 18. 12 *dur-ru* GUŠKIN 12 ku-u-la-aš GUŠKIN NA<sub>4</sub>

“12 golden strings with 12 pendants of gold and stones.”

KUB 42:78 II 3. 1-*nu-tum* ma-an-ni-in-ni-uš NUNUZ GU[ŠKIN aš-me GUŠKIN ar-ma-an-ni-uš x (

“1 set of necklace of gold and stones, golden sun-disc, crescents.”

Circular discs decorated in repoussé and punched dots with four, six or eight points radiating from a central star or sun are known from many excavated sites in the Near East and combined with crescents and other pendants could be attached to necklaces. Elaborate examples are known on the famous gold necklace from Dilbat now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York.<sup>5</sup> A small gold example from Shechem,<sup>6</sup> now in the Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem has the rays of the sun clearly shown between the four points of a star while Atchana (level iv – iii) has produced an example (Pl. I) decorated with raised dots placed in the sections formed between six rays. This is comparable to a bronze sun-disc from Boğazköy (No. 2471),<sup>7</sup> and a fine gold example in the Norbert Schimmel collection.<sup>8</sup>

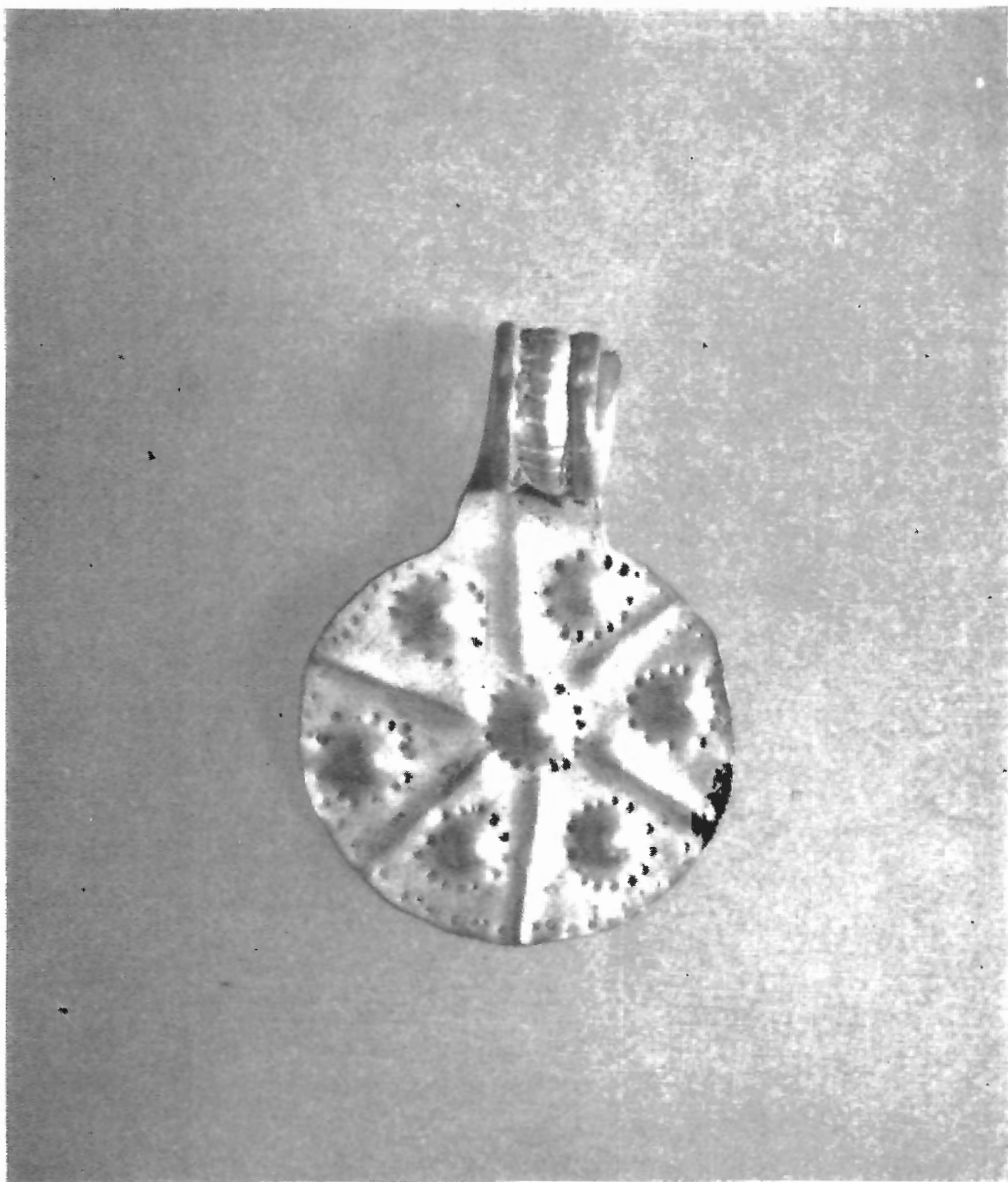
<sup>4</sup> E. Neu, *Der Anitta-Text*. (St BoT 18), 1974, p. 14 f. F. Starke, “Halmašuit im Anitta-Text und die hethitische Ideologie vom Königtum”, *ZA* 69, 1979, p. 88.

<sup>5</sup> K. R. Maxwell-Hyslop, *Western Asiatic Jewellery* (London 1971), pls. 61–64.

<sup>6</sup> K. R. Maxwell-Hyslop (1971), pl. 115.

<sup>7</sup> R. M. Boehmer, *Die Kleinfunde aus der Unterstadt von Boğazköy* (Berlin 1979), Taf. 1, 2471.

<sup>8</sup> Ancient Art. *The Norbert Schimmel Collection*, ed. O. W. Muscarella (Mainz 1974), No. 129.



Atchana. Disc Pendant. Diameter 2.0 cm.

*Photo British Museum. No. 120093*



Silver lunulae occur at Kültepe as early as *Karum* 1b<sup>9</sup> and at Boğazköy an example in silver with a copper rivet comes from Hittite levels in the large temple I area (14th–13th centuries B.C.).<sup>10</sup> (Fig. 6).

A large gold disc described as a sun-disc by Riemschneider with a design of bull-men supporting winged sun-discs, combined with lions and bulls approaching the sacred tree is said to have come from a tomb near Magnesia on the Meander river which also produced the Hittite child's bracelet of flying eagles now in the British Museum (B.M. 132116) and a necklace with pendant bulls' heads.<sup>11</sup> This assemblage has been dated by Barnett to around 1300 B.C.<sup>12</sup> The disc has a clasp at the back and may well have been the centre piece of an elaborate necklace or ornament comparable with the magnificent Ashur cloisonné pectoral (Fig. 7) which was found *in situ* on the middle of the chest of the female skeleton in tomb 45. The reference to the necklace (manninni-) in KUB 12:1 III 14 and in KUB 42:78 II 3, implies an elaborate combination of beads and pendants possibly akin to the *tudittu*, as Košák has suggested (Commentary, p. 107).

Among the rich collection of pendants of gold and semi-precious stones found in this tomb at Ashur, was a large veined stone pendant set in gold and decorated with three rows of fine granulation (Fig. 8). This was found *in situ* on the Adam's apple of the female skeleton.

#### 4. Dress Fasteners or Clasps

The word *kinzalpa* occurs in the Manninni inventory in connection with tunics or with straps.

KUB 12:1 III 4. 1-en Kuš<sup>ta</sup>-hap-ši GUŠK[IN  
:ki-in-za-al-pa-aš-ši-iš [

"1 set of straps (adorned with) gold of *kinzalpa*."

A possible explanation for this object or piece of decoration may be the double ornaments from Tomb 45 at Ashur (Fig. 9) which seem to have been designed to be sewn on to material by thread which could pass through the peripheral loops. A stronger thread or thin strap, if passed through the large central loop of each double spiral, would facilitate use as a clasp to close two edges of a garment. It is possible that a pair of fasteners or clasps comparable with the Ashur pair of spirals might be denoted by the *kalupašši* or "golden accessory of the undergarment" if some kind of toggle-pin was not meant. KUB 42:78 II 21. 8 ka-lu-up-pa-aš-ši-iš. (See Commentary p. 114).

A gold roundel from Atchana (grave ATG/38/2, level I, c. 1200 B.C.) now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (No. 1939. 413) decorated with gold filigree double spirals is designed for use with leather or a wide strip of material as two gold strips are attached across the back of the roundel.<sup>13</sup> Gold spangles for sewing on to material pierced with holes for the thread are common on many 2nd millennium sites outside Anatolia. One from Atchana can be noted here as well as the fine circular belt buckle of bronze, silver-plated with the edge worked in a band of cloisonné inlay of coloured stones.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>9</sup> T. Özgüç, *Kültepe Kazısı Raporu* 1949 (Ankara 1953), pl. LVII, 321.

<sup>10</sup> R. M. Boehmer, *Die Kleinfunde von Boğazköy* (Berlin 1972), Taf. LX. 1760.

<sup>11</sup> M. Riemschneider, *Le Monde des Hittites* (Paris 1955), pls. 108, 107.

<sup>12</sup> *British Museum Quarterly* XXII, 1960, 29 ff. pl. VII.

<sup>13</sup> Woolley, *Alalakh, Excavations at Tell Atchana* (Oxford 1955), pl. LXIX d.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* pl. LXIX p, c.

#### 6. *Miscellaneous Ornaments*

It is possible that pieces of jewellery similar to the gold and lapis lazuli ornament from Ashur tomb 45 (Fig. 10) found *in situ* on the forehead of the female skeleton, could be indicated by the use of the term ha-an-ti-iš (KUB 42:78 II 18).

Finally, the Manninni inventory (KUB 12:1 IV 21) mentions four bulls, marching forwards, among them three of gold and stones, which can be illustrated by the finely modelled bull-calf pendants from Tomb 45 at Ashur (Fig. 11). These pendants are made of a mottled red-brown stone suspended from gold slings passing round the body. They probably belonged to the heavy necklace of gold and lapis lazuli plaques which was found *in situ* on the male skeleton. A silver bull-pendant from Boğazköy (Büyükkale III period) is typical of the animal pendants fashioned in the 14th, 13th and 12th centuries B.C.<sup>15</sup>

This preliminary attempt to identify some of the pieces of jewellery mentioned in only one Hittite inventory suggests the usefulness of further co-operation between linguists, archaeologists and metallurgists for the study of metal artifacts in this relatively unexplored but potentially rewarding field.

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<sup>15</sup> R. M. Boehmer (1972), Taf. LXI, 1759.

## TURKISH KILIMS

By JAMES MELLAART

In every aspect of Turkish studies, the non-Turkish scholar is at a disadvantage in trying to understand the complexities of the Turkish heritage. However hard we may try to learn and understand the language, customs, arts and crafts, through a lifetime of labour, enthusiasm and long residence, our Turkish colleagues should be able to do this better and with greater understanding. During the nineteen-fifties, while living in Ankara, one used to regret the lack of interest in Seljuk art and architecture and complain about the absence of any reliable information about the flat woven rugs known as kilims that were just starting to appear in the market.

Things have greatly changed in the thirty years that have since passed; and there is a healthy revival in Turkish art of the Seljuk and Ottoman periods, not only in Turkey, but at last also in the West. The interest in Turkish kilims is a modern phenomenon; we have valuable studies on the Türkmen nomads of Anatolia, which never even mention the word kilim. In Turkey also few scholars, except Yusuf Durul who has devoted his life to the study of Yörük textiles, were attracted by kilims. *Samples of Old Turkish carpets and kilims*, published by the Sümerbank, Istanbul, 1961 broke the ice, at least in Turkey. Then came an exhibition at the Textile Museum, Washington D.C. in 1969 and its fine publication by A. N. Landreau and W. R. Pickering entitled *From the Bosphorus to Samarkand. Flat woven rugs* (1969), followed in rapid succession by three publications by the Akbank in Turkey: C. Kerametli and Z. Güvemli: *Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi* (1974); Belkis Acar's *Kilim ve düz dokuma yaygılar* (1975) and Yusuf Durul's *Yörük kilimleri* (1977) all published in Istanbul. Then came a kilim exhibition in London, published by D. Black and C. Loveless in *The undiscovered kilim*, London 1977, followed by W. T. Ziemba, A. Akatay and S. L. Schwartz: *Turkish flat weaves*, London 1979, and now we have a sumptuous book by Yanni Petsopoulos: *Kilims*, Thames and Hudson, London 1979 (price £38.00) with not less than 278 illustrations of Anatolian kilims alone, many in colour and all old, i.e. before the introduction of chemical dyes, tentatively put at 1900, and nearly all in western collections, many private. This new book marks a great step forward in the publication of source material, which ideally should be matched by a similar one on the kilim treasures kept in Turkish museums and certain important mosques.

The book, which deals not only with Anatolia – although that section forms half the book and rightly so – also studies Caucasian and Iranian kilims, but alas, not those from Central Asia. The author boldly attempts a classification into regions, and the description of each group is accompanied by a schematic map, which might have been combined into a panoramic view on the back of the cover for greater clarity.

The Caucasian and Iranian (rather than Persian) sections are preceded by a short ethnographical introduction by a recognised expert; only the Anatolian section lacks one. It is this omission that prompts me to offer the following notes – an extended review if one likes – as an Anatolian archaeologist with a love for kilims. My remarks will be confined to the Anatolian kilims in the book, with which I can modestly claim some familiarity over the last thirty years.

The first question that springs to mind is, "Who made kilims?". Petsopoulos assures us, without quoting references, a defect of this book, that they were made



not only by nomads, but also by villagers (West Anatolian village kilims, Nos. 118–120; “a powerful West Anatolian village kilim” (p. 101); “Aleppo kilims, through their sophistication and precision of drawing, appear to be the work of settled people” (p. 154); “Reyhanlı kilims . . . reputedly woven by Circassians – settled in the mid-nineteenth century and established a cottage industry . . . these pieces were produced for the market” (p. 168).

I believe that these basic misconceptions stem from bazaar talk of carpet dealers (against whose ignorance the author warns us, p. 15) and the belief that if the kilim was coarse it was the work of Yörüks, nomads, if it was fine it was made by settled people. A great many, if not the majority of Eastern dealers came from the minorities, were townspeople, not villagers, and had little sympathy for the nomads. Yörük, literally “wanderer, nomad”, is not a polite term in Turkish, and was given by the settled population. The nomads call themselves *Türkmen*, and this is the term, both more dignified and more accurate, that I shall use, though carpet dealers prefer the other because of possible confusion with Central Asiatic products made by those *Türkmen* who did not migrate westward in or after the 11th century A.D. The *Türkmen* invasions came in two main waves, the first of which gave rise to the Seljuks, Danishmends, Mengucik, Saltuk, Artukid, Karaman and Ottoman Oğuz dynasties, and a second which from c. 1600 onwards brought those that had remained east of the Euphrates westward in the great Anatolian risings against the Ottoman Empire at the very end of the 16th and the first half of the 17th centuries. The peoples of the latter wave, with of course some admixtures, are the ancestors of the *Türkmen* nomads of the present day; their tribal names do not yet occur in the 16th century records, but are prominent in those of the 17th–19th centuries. Their period of greatest expansion and power was during the 17th, 18th and early 19th centuries, after which, reforms (since 1830), greater stability, and an increase in the agricultural population of Anatolia, starting in the west, gradually led both to expulsion of the nomads eastwards and to containment and gradual sedentarisation of others. Since c. 1870–80 a stronger control of the remaining nomads was enforced by the plantation of refugees (*muḥacir*) in new villages of agriculturalists carefully sited in the narrow strips of no-man’s land between once powerful tribal groups. Long migrations curtailed, semi-nomadism in many areas took its place, and finally many *kışla*, i.e. winter quarters, first of tents, later with a few houses, developed into permanent villages, a process admirably described and documented by X. de Planhol and W. D. Hütteroth for Southwest Anatolia and the Konya Plain respectively. Further research along these lines is urgently required for other parts of Anatolia, especially in the Western Aegean regions and in Cilicia.

The ethnographical study of the *Türkmen* nomads has been undertaken mainly by Turkish scholars, for obvious reasons the most highly qualified observers on the scene, some of whom may even be of *Türkmen* descent. Here of course we have a situation paralleled in the Highlands of Scotland, where the Highlander’s voice has never been heard in the writing of Scottish History – or if heard, there was nobody willing to listen to it. Perhaps we may learn from this and pay more attention to what Turkish scholars have to say, rather than rely – if that is the word – on the “sales talk” of dealers both eastern and western.

Petsopoulos’ splendid book deals with Ottoman kilims (the Republic of Turkey did not come into being until 1923), most of which date from before 1900. It is therefore appropriate to ascertain the status of his “village kilims”.

Apart from the *muḥacir* (refugee) villages, inhabited by Thracian and Bulgarian Turks, Circassians, Crimean and Nogai Tatars, added since 1870 to the Anatolian scene, there were the villages of the local (*yerli*) agricultural population as well as the first examples of *kışla* (winter) villages of the Türkmen. At the period at which the kilims in question were produced, these *kışlas* certainly produced kilims, Obruk being a good example, but to regard them as houses of a settled population is erroneous. The other villages of non-nomadic origin certainly did not produce kilims, as their inhabitants will still indignantly point out; "kilims are only made by Yörüks; we use carpets". The cessation of nomadic or semi-nomadic pastoralism had an unnerving, not to say unsettling effect on the Türkmen, once fiercely independent, who now found themselves reduced to peasant level. Their textile art declined as cheap carpets replaced kilims, and the new chemical dyes, cheaply bought in the market towns, contributed to a gradual decline that continues to the present day, though the skill and the traditional patterns and techniques survive. The demand for carpets and the commercial competition by machine-made Gaziantep kilims over the last thirty years have had an unwholesome effect; the floor cover of many mosques has changed as old kilims disappear, and few village houses now are entirely furnished with homemade textiles; most are now bought.

Before these economic changes were taking shape it was the Türkmen women and their daughters who wove themselves not only the kilims (flat woven tapestry), the *cicims* and the *zile*'s (in brocaded weft techniques), bags, covers, shawls, hangings, socks etc. essential to nomadic life, not as art objects, but as pieces of private and individual household equipment. Girls wove them for their dowry, and the married women made them to replace older pieces worn and tattered during the annual migrations. Such objects were not for sale and the private nature of kilims, etc. was often emphasized by the attachment of locks of the mother's or the girl's hair, scraps of cloth, tribal signs, often brocaded or executed in copper or gilt copper thread, and the like, thought to bring good luck and ward off the "evil eye". In a society where even today it is almost impossible to photograph a woman, it would be extremely unlikely that such personal mementos as are woven into kilims would ever be allowed to leave the possession of the Türkmen. Their occurrence on the so-called Aleppo and Reyhanlı kilims in my opinion rules out the idea of commercial production or a foreign, e.g. Circassian origin at a time when these people still lived in the Northern Caucasus, an area not known for kilim production. The idea that the alleged Aleppo kilims were too fine to be produced by nomads can only be matched by similar 19th century prejudiced notions that all the best carpets were Persian, not Turkish, or were made by Christians, ideas since tacitly discarded. Another feature of kilims, etc. is the appearance of apparent faults or mistakes in them. These have puzzled western collectors but they derive from the simple but not unworthy belief that one must not strive to attain perfection, which is reserved to Allah. These deliberate imperfections occur elsewhere in Islamic art; they should not surprise us, but they are notably absent in modern commercial productions. Simple weaving faults of course also exist; wrong spacing of ornaments on kilims up to 4.5 m. (15 ft.) long is not uncommon, and changes in the colour of the wool as one batch ran out and another was added are frequent and add to the charm. Kilims are intensely individual products; no two are the same (another argument against commercial production); and why should they be, for none were made by copying the pattern from a drawing on a piece of cardboard, like modern carpets? Tradition, earlier

examples in the tent, and those seen and observed among neighbours or kinsmen, or on the carpets seen in the great mosques, influenced the design, stored in the brain and reproduced at will, transmitted to the daughters of these simple, illiterate, but often highly artistic Türkmen women. If we remember that weaving among the Türkmen and their ancestors in Central Asia has a respectable ancestry of at least two thousand years, and probably much more, and that the craft was continuously transmitted from generation to generation — one is reminded of the old Turkish proverb — “no food for the woman who cannot weave” — the perfection of some of the kilims of the 18th and 19th centuries comes as no surprise. To invoke the alleged superiority of the technology of a *settled* population, whoever they may be, to account for excellence is certainly unnecessary. What should also be remembered is that what has survived of early kilims is probably, not to say certainly, but a fraction of what was once produced, and for every fine piece there may have been many that were not. Skill, talent and genius are unevenly distributed among the human race; globally, one might say, some are better at one thing than others, and not all the Türkmen women were expert weavers, for though these Turks covered the entire country, splendid kilims as illustrated for the first time in profusion in Petsopoulos’ book can be assigned to only a number of areas. The reasons for this are by no means clear; prestige, wealth, power and ostentation come to mind; yet without artistic ability these would count for little in kilim production. The spur of commercial success does not come into these pastoral societies, and can be discounted; kilims are not trade goods, and the higher strata of Ottoman society had no use for them. The only places where they might be seen outside the nomads’ tents (or winter houses) would be in mosques, presented as pious gifts. It is these that have acted as repositories for kilims in the past, and some still are; but in most, old kilims (and rugs) have been exchanged for new ones, especially since the early nineteen-fifties.

Before discussing the geographical distribution of kilims, one further point should be mentioned — the purpose of kilims. Among the Türkmen, whether employed in black tents, round yurts, hoop-shaped felt shelters or their first winter houses, the kilim is first of all floorcover, the woven mat. Other strips with unpatterned plain field in the centre were made into bags for carrying belongings, including the children, during migrations. Similar large kilims with plain field centres served as covers for large animals, such as the ubiquitous camels; and certain small kilims provided with a niche probably served as prayer rugs. Hangings, covers, small bags etc. exposed to less hard wear were made in different techniques with much brocading; these are the *cicims*, *zile’s*, *torba’s*, *minder’s* (cushions), etc. Some Türkmen tribes also made carpets. Although the higher strata of Ottoman society shunned these products of Türkmen origin, the provincial clergy did not, and kilims covered floors in mosques and brocaded wall hangings were used as *portières* on mosque doors. Nor did the minorities shun kilims which, woven in two strips, made excellent curtains or door-hangings to keep out draughts, but this secondary use among the non-Moslems of moderate means such as merchants and carpet-sellers, and perhaps also among the Arabs of Syria, although interesting, did not lead to trade or manufacture of kilims for such purposes, as has sometimes been maintained. Many of the old kilims in European collections and museums would have come west as occasional pieces or as wrappings around rugs in the carpet trade through Istanbul, Izmir and Aleppo. Dried fruit and nuts, it is remembered, sometimes arrived wrapped in similar fashion.

Assigning geographical names to various types of kilims must have started among carpet-dealers in Anatolia, who were probably more interested in where the kilim came from than in the name of the Türkmen tribe, or the subtribe, let alone the name of the individual who had made it. Assuming that this could have been ascertained, it might still not have told us much, for by the 19th century the great tribes had been very much fragmented and most nomad groupings were very mixed. Undoubtedly the most sensible way was to refer to kilims by the places from which they most often came, or were said to have come. Very few kilim types are still associated with tribal names; e.g. the Yağcibedir and Yüncü of the Balıkesir-Bergama area; Afşar kilims, associated with Uzunyayla above Kayseri and Sivas. Geographical terms are therefore the best we have, and though many dealers' attributions are disappointingly vague like Karaman kilims, Sivas kilims, Kurdish kilims, Aleppo kilims, there seems to be no reason to doubt the bona-fide attribution during the last century when kilims were worth next to nothing and falsification of origins for boosting the price would have served no purpose. The many provenances given for one type of kilim seem however strange to the modern observer; when e.g. one type is assigned to Kayseri, Sarkışla, Malatya, Elazığ (op. cit. p. 182), and when it is also described as Kurdish or Rashwan in Syria, or as Sivas kilim (Ankara Bazaar in the 1950s) one might easily despair of placing this very common group of kilims. The multiplicity of names is of course possibly resolved by nomadic movements on the one hand and changes in administrative boundaries since the Ottoman Empire on the other. Boundaries nearly always follow mountain ranges, rivers and other geographical features; nomads cross them in search of pasture. Turks in the rural areas are very conservative and often refer to districts and towns not by their present official name, but by the old traditional Ottoman one. Nomadic migration routes were not always fixed, they depended on pasture available and could be changed in a dry year to others not normally frequented. Drop one or two kilims, which later reach the carpet shops, and one obtains a new location. Add this to flight from the tax collector or deportation, and the range of certain kilim types can become very extensive, and at times bizarre. As kilims were never made in cities a place name refers to the region, or administrative district of origin, not the place where it was sold. When dealing with Ottoman kilims, as the present book does, our geographical basis should be not a modern administrative map, but Ottoman ones. Whatever the precise boundaries – which fluctuate – one thing is clear; Ottoman provinces were on the whole fewer and therefore much larger than those established under the Republic. A "Sivas" kilim could have come from anywhere between the Black Sea coast and the upper bend of the Euphrates. The presence of other groups of kilims within such a vast area helps in narrowing down its probable area of origin. A thorough study of patterns employed frequently shows contacts with other groups and this could and should be built up into a mosaic of interrelations. With a few points fixed, either by continuity with present Türkmen groups still making the same type of kilim, or using the same patterns, e.g. on bags, (if they have stopped making kilims), or by finding early examples in mosques, some approximate area of distribution can be defined. For these methods to achieve a reasonable measure of success more ethnographical studies are urgently required as well as the publication of material collected from mosques and now in Turkish museums, much of which is well provenanced, unlike the material in western collections, which however fine merely represents waifs and strays without any next of kin.

Petsopoulos's sumptuous book reveals for the first time the crème de la

crème of Türkmen kilims of the 19th century (and some earlier ones) in the first half of the book, all from western collections. If we could have a similar volume on the treasures of kilims housed in Turkish museum collections and mosques, the basis would be laid for a proper study of Anatolian kilims. To all lovers of kilims this is a book of fundamental importance; it presents basic source material. The author, for the first time, has attempted to give a distribution of the various types of Anatolian kilims of the 19th century, some of which survive, whereas others are now alas extinct. This is of fundamental importance, but unfortunately the author nowhere gives any sources or references for his geographical subdivisions. He divides Anatolian kilims into twenty-three geographical groups, plus prayer kilims and multi-panelled kilims without borders of wide distribution. This scheme can be subdivided by lopping off the eastern section beyond the Euphrates. The prayer kilims (*seccade*) of eastern (?) Sivas province, Bayburt and Erzurum fall into a group with minor variations within the old eyalet of Erzurum, bordered by the kilims from the neighbouring eyalets of Kars and Van, both of which show markedly Caucasian influence, as do kilims from Çildir eyalet not discussed by the author. Between the Euphrates and the Antitaurus mountains there are the Band kilims of Malatya, the Compartment kilims of the Sivas-Malatya, in other words the Divriği region, like the rest of the east Anatolian kilims of fine workmanship, but sombre tones, a *horror vacui*, and motifs not found further west, characteristics of a non-Türkmen origin, and attributed in Ottoman times to Kurds. Attempts to attribute his Central Anatolian "Rashwan" kilims (pp. 182–191) to the same ethnic substratum cannot be taken seriously and the tale that they emigrated eastwards to Persia and settled east of Tehran contrasts with the well documented deportation of Reşvan, Cihanbeyli and other Kurdish tribes in the late 18th century to the Haymana-Cihanbeyli area south of Ankara (see Hütteroth below) which is a most unlikely area for the origin of these kilims. Here is one dealer's term that should not be used. The other, in my opinion, is "Aleppo kilims", a heterogeneous collection of very splendid kilims with similar borders, fine colouring and refined minor ornament, but strikingly different field compositions that belong to more northern groups, the Adana-Gaziantep "star-patterned and capped hexagon groups" in particular, together with Niğde medallion, Aksaray "hooked medallion" and Konya-Beyşehir "double headed eagle" groups. Nor do I believe in the "Circassian" (sic) boxed (*sandikli*) Reyhanli group as a foreign element (p. 168 f.). Their origin is only too clearly Anatolian and based on "Afşar" kilims with floral patterns with compartments filled with eagles from further west, a composition reminiscent of patchwork, like Ottoman *bokca*'s, a feature in kilims, typical of the Anti-Taurus region, see e.g. "Divriği" compartment kilims (op. cit., p. 198 f.), and extending westward into the Kırşehir area (ibid. p. 204 f.) with more archaic designs and partitions, also common in the *cicims* of the Aksaray-Obruk area. This "boxing" of designs reminds one immediately of Seljuk architectural decoration, many examples of which were visible at the time and are still so today. I therefore decline the "Circassian" explanation.

The Central Anatolian "lozenge" kilims I would put in Sivas eyalet, west of the Divriği "compartment kilims" and the flower-patterned Afşar kilims of the Uzunyayla, in other words centred on the Halys basin, bordered to the south by the Ankara-Kırşehir group of prayer kilims, square compartment kilims, with Petsopoulos's central Anatolian Yörük kilims in the Kayseri area as similar medallions with S-shaped hooks occur in prayer kilims there. Others known as Yahyali or Taşpınar border the Kayseri area with Niğde, the region from which

I feel most of the great medallion kilims came (op. cit., pls. 153–156, 158–160), while directly to the west lies the Aksaray region stretching to the Salt-Lake and into the Konya Plain around Karapınar, probably the homeland of the Aksaray, Obruk and the narrow “Konya” kilims (op. cit., pp. 136–144).

I know of no kilims attributable to the foreign enclave south of Ankara, from which the tribes migrated northwards up to Kızılcahamam and Çubuk, north of the present capital. Like much of northern Anatolia, this area is a blank on a kilim map. Beyond the Sakarya, however one again enters Türkmen country, and the rich treasure in old kilims in the Sivrihisar mosque remains to be studied. It includes several types not found in Petsopoulos' book (*Samples of old Turkish carpets and kilims*, Sümerbank, Istanbul, 1961, pls. 38–40), but falls within his West Anatolian “Karaman” kilims group p. 92 f. “Karaman” is clearly a geographical misnomer; large as the old eyalet was, it never extended so far west. I would shift the western edge of this group further towards Balıkesir, including Kütahya vilayet, which otherwise remains an inexplicable blank. In the northwest of the country the most prominent group is that of the Bergama-Balıkesir kilims made by the Yağcibedir and Yüncü nomads. Petsopoulos omits the Manisa type of which there is a splendid example in the Efkar museum in Istanbul, but emphasizes the “Manastir” group in the same area, as well as a Helvacı group on the coast, mainly with synthetic colours and therefore better excluded. The prominent Aydın kilims, with close links to his West Anatolian and Konya area groups, are said to have been named after the present town of Aydın, rather than the province of that name, so that his distribution map should shift further northward, east of Izmir. The old name of Aydın town is Güzelhisar. Kilims from the southwestern area, ancient Menteşe, are not mentioned, and surprisingly the important nomad area of the southwestern plateau is ignored and presented as a blank. Likewise his Konya group is put in the Konya plain and only one small group of kilims is placed near Mut in the Taurus. This goes against all historical and ethnographical evidence which has shown that the classic strongholds of Türkmen nomadism lay in the Taurus range, and in fact continue in a limited way to the present day. For this see X. de Planhol's *De la plaine Pamphylienne aux lacs Pisidiens: Nomadisme et vie paysanne*. Paris, 1959, which contains a full bibliography on ethnographical and historical Turkish studies on the Taurus mountain nomad Türkmen on pp. 445–451, and W. D. Hütteroth's *Landliche Siedlungen im südlichen Inneranatolien in den letzten vierhundert Jahren*, Göttingen, 1968. These are essential to a good understanding of the background for kilim studies. For our present purpose it is important to notice that the nomads of the Cilician Taurus preserve a tradition of immigration from the west during the 19th century (de Planhol, op. cit., p. 125 with refs.; also E. Pekin: Yörük çuvalları, in *Sanat Dünyamız* 2:5, Sept. 1975, 14–20). A Pozanti nomad (Cilician Gates above Tarsus) told me that the striking kilims with double headed birds (*Kilims*; pls. 152, 157, variant 199, 205, attributed by Petsopoulos to the Niğde and Southeast Anatolian areas) used to be made by his people. The motif was the eagle of the High Taurus Mountains, so he said. Whereas a few pieces may well have turned up in the east as the result of migration, like some of the multi-panel kilims (pl. 121) which have the eagle border, the bulk of these kilims are found in the mosques of Konya and Beyşehir, where together with multi-panel pieces they are the most typical old kilims. In the southwest I have seen further pieces from near Mecidiye near Seydişehir, the Anamas Mountains west of Beyşehir, Eğridir, and from Hacılar and Yaraşlı west of Burdur, found as fragments in villages of settled Türkmen of the Sarıkeçili

tribe. In the same Burdur area a fragment of Petsopoulos's West Anatolian "Karaman" group (pls. 118–120) was found and it would be hard to dissociate his pl. 111–112 from the other "eagle kilims", common again as old pieces at Konya, though I cannot recall seeing any at Beyşehir. The city of Konya was of course the seat of the governor of Karaman province, a centre of pilgrimage, and an important station on the route to Mecca. Moreover during the period from *c.* 1595–1870 agricultural villages hardly existed in the Konya plain but only in the mountain area to the west and south; the misery of these regions does not accord with theories of a fine village kilim tradition. The so-called "White kilim Konya" group with the great hooked medallions which have links with the West Anatolian, the Aydin and less so with the Aksaray and Niğde groups to the east could possibly have been made by the Türkmen nomads in the Konya plain, or alternatively, in view of their stronger western links, in the Akşehir-Kadınhan area, northwest of Konya. I have not seen a single piece of this group in the Beyşehir mosque. There remains the Mut group in the plateau Taurus above the Göksu river, a relatively minor group, some nomads of which still migrate to the Karaman Kara Dağ.

The modifications of the idealised kilim map here suggested for the 19th century are shown in Fig. 1 which, it cannot be too strongly emphasized, remains provisional until we have more detailed studies on existing kilims. I have drawn the tentative borders rather broadly, especially for Central Anatolia for which detailed studies such as those mentioned above are not yet available. The later 19th century marks the gradual restriction of nomad lands, and after 1870 the revival of agricultural settlements throughout the country, had reduced the Türkmen to semi-nomadism if not settlement, except in the Taurus mountains. The map no doubt contains many errors, the correction of which I shall gratefully accept; progress in knowledge is rarely achieved without boldness, and "sticking out one's neck" usually has the desired result in scholarship.

Lack of space forbids the discussion of many other problems related to kilims; the need for better dating through C-14; the relation of carpet production to kilims and their designs; traditional designs on kilims from Anatolia and Central Asia; the possibilities of tribal identification through tribal marks (*im*); the origin of kilims; the study of modern kilims, etc. and the problems of continuity and innovation; the need for fuller publication and broadening the corpus of kilim types; a parallel study of the *cicims*, *zile's*, *çival's*, *deve kolani's*, etc.; the need for a series of historical tribal maps, and an explanation for the great blanks in northern Anatolia on kilim maps perhaps due to forests? These are just a few problems that spring to mind, stimulated by Y. Petsopoulos's fascinating book. If my criticisms have been extensive, they are offered in the spirit of contributing to a better understanding of the background from which we may all benefit.

The study of Türkmen kilims in Anatolia and the problems of their geographical distribution I hope may appeal to Professor O. R. Gurney and remind him of the similarities, historical, textual and archaeological, to the unsolved problems of Hittite geography in the same country; both subjects make excellent puzzles. Nor would I be surprised if the problem of the location of the Lukka would one day be solved by analogy with Türkmen migrations; Anatolian nomadism may be much older than most historians suspect.



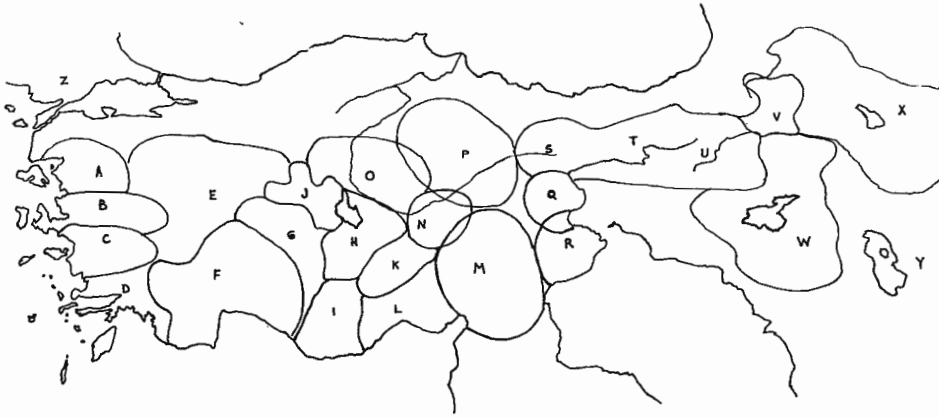


Fig. 1. Distribution map of Anatolian kilims.

## Regional groupings of 19th century Anatolian kilims: a provisional map

*Aegean region*

- A. Bergama-Balıkesir
- B. Manisa-Uşak
- C. Aydın
- D. Menteşe (Muğla)

*Y. Petsopoulos Kilim types*

- N.W. Anat. Bergama-Balıkesir kilims
- West Anat. plain-field "Manastir" only
- Aydın kilims
- (none shown)

*West Anatolian plateau*

- E. Kütahya-Afyon-Eskişehir
- F. Southwest: Lake District and Antalya
- G. Akşehir-Kadınhan-Konya

- West Anatolian "Karaman" kilims
- (none shown) see text
- West-Central Anat. Konya region "Karamani" kilims

*South Anatolian plateau and coast*

- H. Aksaray
- I. Karaman-Mut
- K. Niğde
- L. Silifke-Pozanti
- M. Adana-Gaziantep

- Obruk and Aksaray kilims
- Mut kilims
- "Konya-Niğde kilims", medallion groups accepted; others not
- Niğde-Adana (group C) controversial, see text
- Adana-Gaziantep kilims; Aleppo kilims, Reyhanlı kilims, etc. of Southeast Anatolia.
- Controversial, see text

*Central Anatolian plateau*

- N. Kayseri
- O. Ankara-Yozgat-Kırşehir
- P. Sivas-Amasya-Çorum

- C. Anatolian Yörük kilims, for others see text
- Kayseri-Kırşehir region
- C. Anatolian "Rashwan" kilims

*East Anatolian groups*

- Q. Divriği (Sivas; Malatya)
- R. Malatya
- S. Sivas prayer kilims
- T. Bayburt prayer kilims
- U. Erzurum prayer kilims
- V. Kars prayer kilims
- W. Van kilims

- Sivas-Malatya Compartment kilims
- Malatya Band kilims
- "Sivas kilims"
- ditto —
- ditto —
- ditto —
- ditto —

*Other groups*

- J. Haymana-Cihanbeyli enclave
- X. Caucasian kilims
- Y. Azerbaijani kilims
- Z. Thracian (or Şarköy) kilims

- ditto —
- Northwest Persian kilims
- (not discussed)





# A NEW TEXT OF THE BABYLONIAN POEM OF THE RIGHTEOUS SUFFERER

By D. J. WISEMAN

A Babylonian text from Sultantepe published by Professor Gurney in 1964 noted that the age of seventy marked a "long life"<sup>1</sup> though it goes on to list eighty as "old age" (*šībūtu*) and ninety as "extreme old age" (*littūtum*). In congratulating my teacher and colleague on his long life of scholarship this contribution carries with it best wishes for his continuing work as *ana labīrūti illak*. Having been with Professor Seton Lloyd at Sultantepe on the day in 1951 when the site was first surveyed and chosen as full of promise it would seem appropriate to offer here a text which virtually completes the first tablet of the poem of the Righteous Sufferer (*ludlul bēl nēmeqi*). In 1954 Professor Gurney made available, in conjunction with W. G. Lambert, a new text from Sultantepe which marked a notable advance on our hitherto scanty knowledge of that tablet.<sup>2</sup> Subsequently Professor Lambert published the first part of the hymn of praise to the god Marduk (ll. 1–12) with which this classical poem opens.<sup>3</sup>

In a cāche of many damaged tablets used as a fill in the courtyard of the Nabû Temple at Nimrud (Kalhu) Mallowan found in 1956 one tablet (ND 5485)<sup>4</sup> which can now be shown to provide the text of Ludlul I, ll. 1–46, 91–120 (Figs. 1–3).<sup>5</sup> The tablet, now in the Iraq Museum (IM 67628) was identified in 1960 though then in poor condition<sup>6</sup> but could only be fully copied there after laboratory treatment in 1970.<sup>7</sup>

Since the variants now available for the opening lines are few compared with the text as hitherto restored they can be listed:

ll. 1, 13: EN; ll. 2, 4: *mu-up-pa-šir*; l. 5: NA/la<sup>1</sup>-mu-ú; l. 6: [ki-]i ma-nit še-re-ti; zaq-šú ta-a-bu; l. 8: k[a-ra-as-su]; l. 9: ša naq-be qa-[ti-šu]; l. 10: ú-kaš-šú mi-i-ta; l. 12: rab-ba-tum; ú-kaš-šú mi-i-ta.

The Nimrud text now enables the hymn to be continued. The structure, as Lambert already discerned from ll. 5–12, continues to line 26 with alternate lines describing the severity and the goodness of the god. This appears to be followed by a stanza (ll. 27–31) emphasizing his compassionate qualities and another (ll. 32–42) the oppressive and mystifying aspects of this deity. This forms a necessary and appropriate introduction to the description (beginning on line 41) of the person who suffered at the hand of Marduk and then experienced his restoring mercy.

13 *i-na lib-ba-ti [u]p-ta-at-ta-a qab-ra-a-tum*  
 14 *e-nu-uš-šú ina ka-ra-še-e ú-šat-bi ma-aq-tú*  
 15 *ik-ke-lem-mu-ma i-né-es-su-ú* <sup>d</sup>LÁMA <sup>u</sup> <sup>d</sup>ALAD  
 16 *ip-pal-la-as-ma ana šá is-ki-pu-šú* <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>ú</sup> <sup>u</sup>-sah-har-šú  
 17 *ak-ša-at ana paṭ-ri en-nit-ta-šú x ta<sup>2</sup>-x ru|qa-tum*  
 18 *ik-kar-ra[ṭ]-ma za-mar-ma x a-lit-tuš*  
 19 *id-du-ud-ma ri-ma-š[a] ú-kan-ni*

<sup>1</sup> O. R. Gurney and P. Hulin, *The Sultantepe Tablets II* (1964), 400, 46, pl. CCLXXI.

<sup>2</sup> *An. St.* IV (1954), 64–80; cf. VI (1956), 163.

<sup>3</sup> W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (1960), 343–4, first identified by E. Leichty, *Or.* 28 (1959), 361–3.

<sup>4</sup> M. E. L. Mallowan, *Nimrud and its Remains I* (1966), 271.

<sup>5</sup> To be included in D. J. Wiseman, *The Nabû Temple Texts* (Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud).

<sup>6</sup> D. J. Wiseman, *JNES* 27 (1968), 249.

<sup>7</sup> I am grateful to Mr. A. R. Millard, Professor W. G. Lambert and Mr. J. N. Postgate for various collations made at my request. They are, of course, not responsible for the readings and interpretations finally adopted here.

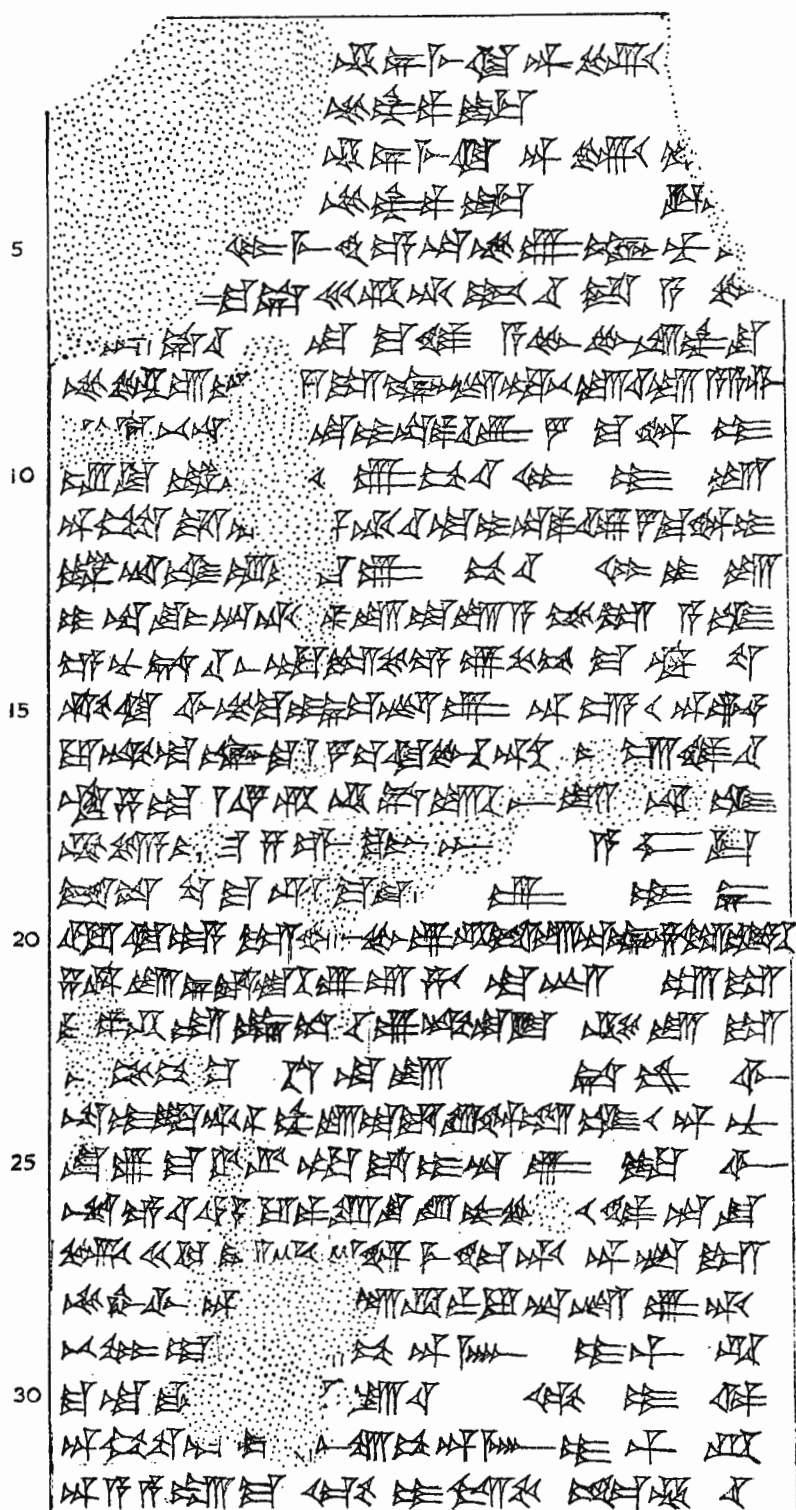


Fig. 1. ND 5485: obverse 1-32.

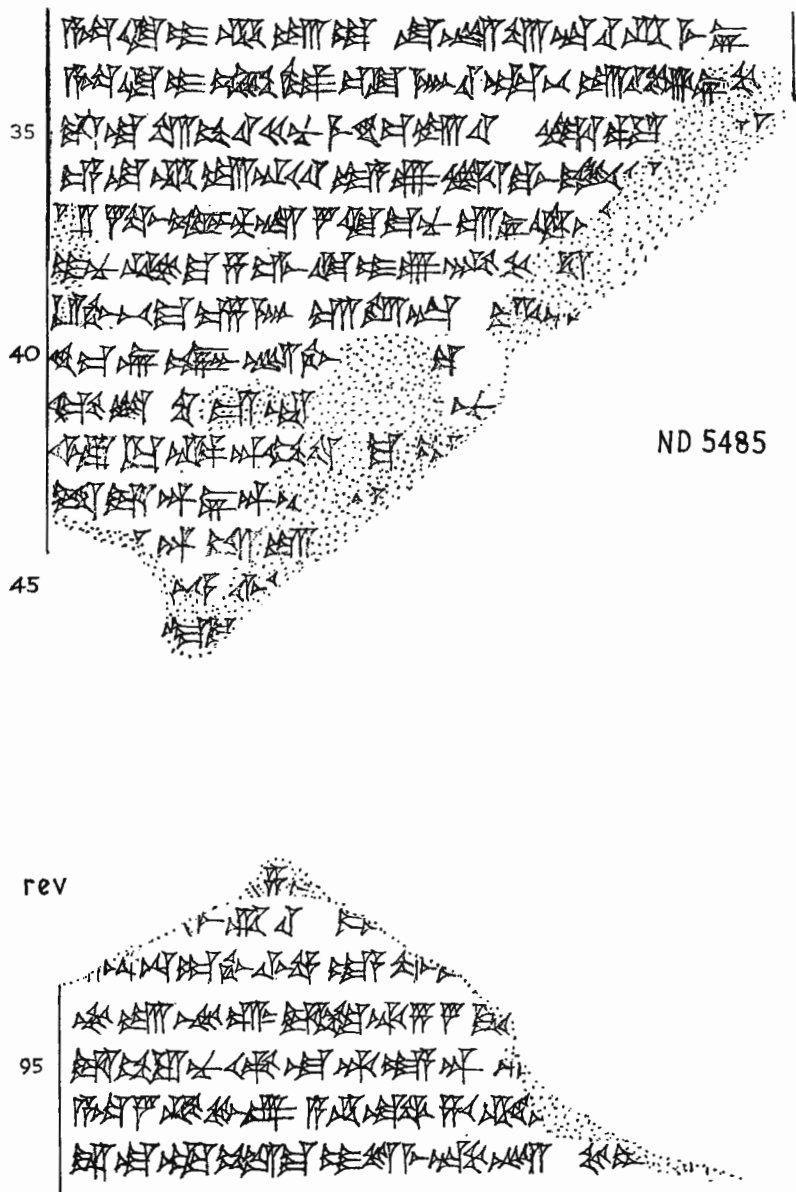


Fig. 2. (a) ND 5485: obverse 33–46.  
(b) ND 5485: reverse 91–97.

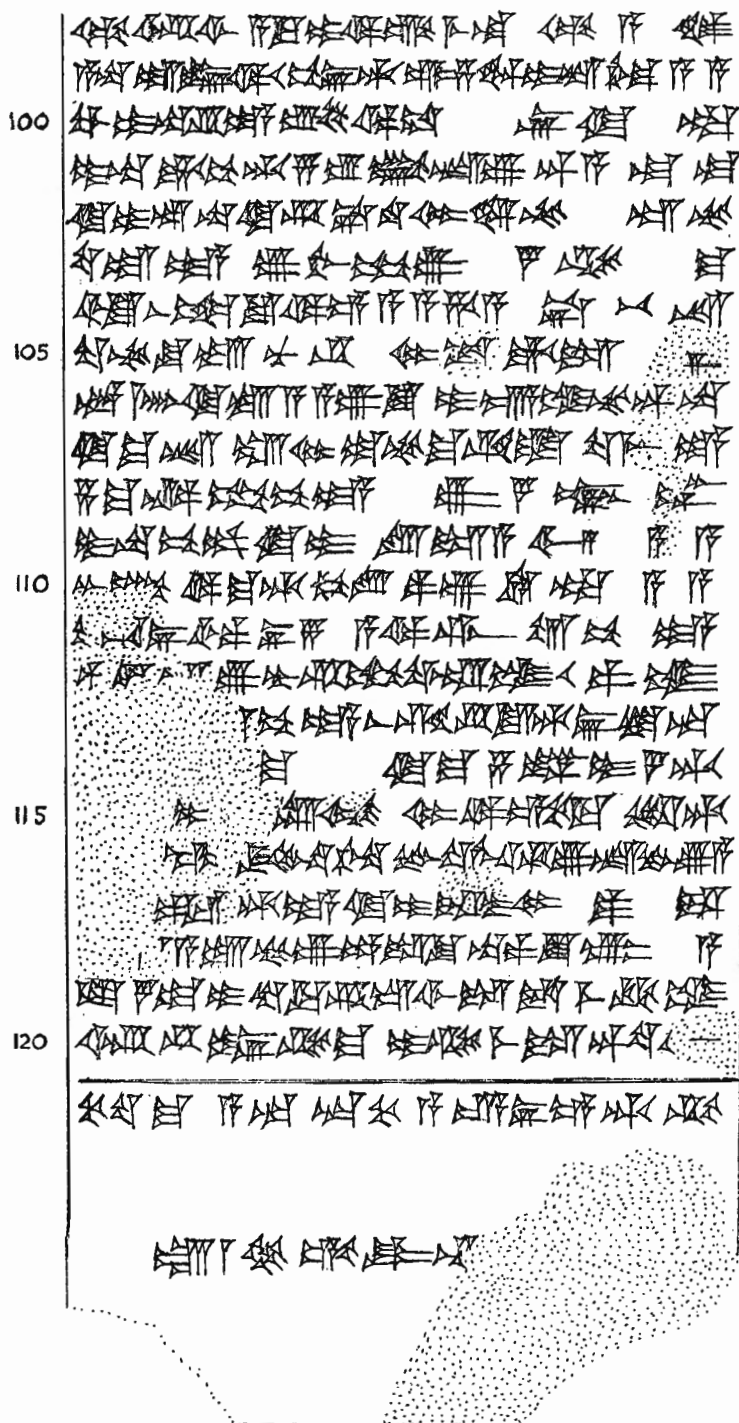


Fig. 3. ND 5485: reverse 98-122.

- 20 *ù ki-i a-ra-ah bu-ú-ri it-ta-na-as-ha-ra* EGIR-šú  
 21 *za-ag-ta ni-ta-tu-šú ú-sah-ha-la zu-um-ra*  
 22 *pa-d[š]-hu ši-in-du-šú ú-bal-la-tu nam-ta-ra*  
 23 *ᵀ-gab-bi-ma kil-la-ta uš-kaš-ši*  
 24 *ina UD i-šar-ti-šú up-ta-at-ta-ru 'i-il-tum u an-nu*  
 25 *šu-ú-ma tuk-tuk-ka ša-i-la ú-šar-ši*  
 26 *ina te-e-šú Kù ip-pa-ru šu-ru-up-pu u har-ba-šu*  
 27 *muš-man-ti [ri-hi-is]-ti <sup>d</sup>IM me-hi-is-[t]i <sup>d</sup>ir-ra*  
 28 *mu-šal-lim DINGIR [nam<sup>7</sup>]-ta-ri šab-ba-su-ú-ti*  
 29 *be-lum at-[ta ša<sup>2</sup> ina<sup>2</sup> l]b-bi DINGIR.MEŠ i-bar-ri*  
 30 *ma-la š[a ? x x a-la]k-ta-šú ul i-di*  
 31 *<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU ᵀ at-ta ša i]na l]b-bi DINGIR.MEŠ i-bar-ri*  
 32 *DINGIR a-a-um-ma ul i-lam-mad tē-en-šú*  
 33 *a-na ki-i kab-ta-at ŠU-su l]b-ba-šú re-me-ni*  
 34 *a-na ki-i gaš-šu GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-šú ka-ba-ta-šú muš-ni-lat*  
 35 *ša la l]b-bi-šú man-nu me-hi-is-ta-šú li-šap-[ši-ih-(ma)]*  
 36 *e-la kab-ta-ti-šú ia-ú li-gal-lil u[l<sup>2</sup>*  
 37 *[l]u-šá-pi ug-gat-su šá ki-ma nu-ú-ni ak-<sub>2</sub>[ti<sup>2</sup>-<sub>2</sub>x]*  
 38 *i-nu-nam-ma za-mar ki-i ú-bal-l[<sub>2</sub>- x x]*  
 39 *lu-šal-mid-ma UN.MEŠ kit-ru-ba g [i<sup>2</sup> x x]*  
 40 *hi-is-sa-as-su MÍ. SIG<sub>5</sub>-t[u] a<sup>2</sup>-na<sup>2</sup> [x x x]*  
 41 *ul-tu-ud<sub>4</sub>-ma <sup>d</sup>E N [x x x] nu [x x x]*  
 42 *ù UR.SAG <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU [pu-] su [x x x]*  
 43 *id-da-an-ni DINGIR. M[U<sup>2</sup> šá-da-šu i-mid]*  
 44 *[ip-par-k]u<sup>2</sup> <sup>d</sup>iš-ta-[ri i-bé-x x ]*  
 45 *[is-lit <sup>d</sup>A]LAD SI[G<sub>5</sub> šá i-di-ia]*  
 46 *[ip-ru-ud l]a<sup>2</sup>-ma[s-si-ma šá-nam-ma i-še-'e]<sup>8</sup>*

### Translation

- 13 In anger graves are opened,  
 14 When he changes he makes the fallen rise from disaster.  
 15 When he looks gloomy the *lamassu*- and *šedu*-spirits move away,  
 16 he looks and turns to help the one whose god has withdrawn.  
 17 His divine punishment is hard to remove from . . . ,  
 18 yet he quickly shows mercy . . . on the one who begets.  
 19 He acts quickly and assigns (bad fortune) to the one he loves,  
 20 yet, like a cow with a calf, he keeps turning back to him.  
 21 His beating is barbed and pierces the body,  
 22 (yet) his bandaging is soothing, it heals the afflicted.  
 23 He speaks and everything is delayed,  
 24 on his favourable day sin and guilt are dispelled.  
 25 As for him, he makes the one who asks become a . . .  
 26 through his pure spell ice and frost are broken up.  
 27 (He is) the one who reduces the storm of Adad and the blow of Erra,  
 28 who keeps the one who becomes sulky safe and healthy in a plague.  
 29 It is you, O lord, who divines the omens among the gods.  
 30 There is no-one whose behaviour . . . he does not know.

<sup>8</sup> The broken section of this tablet shows signs of glueing, as if a join, now lost, had been made at some time.

- 31 It is you, O Marduk, who divines among the gods.  
 32 No god can understand his plan.  
 33 For whom is his hand heavy or his heart compassionate?  
 34 For whom are his weapons raging, yet his feelings soft?  
 35 For the one who is not on his mind (in his heart) who can soften his blow?  
 36 Apart from his feelings . . .  
 37 Let him show forth his anger which is like a fish . . .  
 38 He punishes as speedily as he grants life.  
 39 Let him teach and people . . .  
 40 His intelligence is favour for the . . .  
 41 From the time when the lord . . .  
 42 Moreover, the warrior Marduk . . .  
 43 My (personal) god has forsaken me (and disappeared)  
 44 My goddess has failed me . . .  
 45 The favourable angel (who walked beside me has departed),  
 46 (My protecting spirit has taken flight, and is seeking someone else).

The text from lines 45–110 has been established by Lambert in his *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (1960), pp. 32–36 so that it will be sufficient to note some variant readings given here:

92: *ši-ri-šú*; 94: *ta-pil-ti-ia*; 96: *a-na šá iq-bu-ú a-hu-la-pi*; 97: *ša . . . ba-laṭ-su* (for *TI.LA*); 99: *ú-za-'a-i-zu mimma-a-a*; 100: *pi-i na-ri-ia ú-man-di-du sa-ki-ka*, “they have blocked up the mouth of my canal” (so W. G. Lambert, *JSS* 14 250 quoting this text); 101: *qer-bé-ti-ia ú-šes-su-ú*; 102: *uš-qa-mi-im-ma URU-ia<sub>5</sub>*; 103: *ú-šal-qu-ú*; 104: *ù ina pil-lu-de-e-a a-ha-a uš-ziz-zu*; 105: *GE<sub>6</sub>*; 106: *ITU.MEŠ qí-ta-a-a-ú-lu i-dir-tu<sub>4</sub> MU.AN.NA*; 107: *ki-ma su-um-mi ad-mu-ma*; 108: *za-ma-riš qu-bi-ia*; 109: *i-na bi-tak-ki-i šub-ra-a*; 110: *hal/tar-šEŠ di-ma-ti*.

Apart from a damaged left edge, the end of the Nimrud text is clear as is the catch-line linking it with tablet II in the series. This enables the end of this section to be reconstructed:

- 111 *‘uš’ -šal-lim pa-ni-ia a-di-rat lîb-bi-ia*  
 112 *maš-ki-ia? ú-tar-ri-qu pi-rit-tum u hat-tum*  
 113 *[x x x lî]b-bi-ia ina gi-ri/tal-lu-ti ir-tu-ba*  
 114 *[x x x ]-ma ki-ma ša-rap i-šá-ti*  
 115 *[ki-i na-]a[b-lî] muš-tah-mi-ti e-lat tas-lî-ti*  
 116 *[x x-l]ul pu-úh-pu-úh-hu-ú su-pu-ú-a*  
 117 *[x x x] šap-ti-ia ki-i da-i<sup>2</sup>-mi áš-ṭa*  
 118 *[x x] a-ta-mu-ú nap-ra-ku na-pa-lu-ú-a*  
 119 *lu/ku-šá-ad ina ur-ri iš-ši-ra da-me-eq-tum*  
 120 *ar-hu in-nam-ma i-nam-me-ra UTU-š‘i’*

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*šat-tam-ma a-na ba-laṭ a-dan-ni e-ti-iq*  
 DUB-I-KÁM *lud-lul E[N né-me-qí]*

Parts of these lines duplicate the traces of VAT 11565 (source *z* in W. G. Lambert, *BWL* p. 30).

- 111 My face is darkened, my heart apprehensive.  
 112 My heart palpitates with fear and panic,  
 113 my epigastrium quakes with . . .

- 114 . . . like the burning of fire.  
 115 (like a) blazing fl(ame) is the ascent of my prayer,  
 116 . . . lamentation my imploring.  
 117 . . . my lips are stiff like a spear(?),  
 118 (my hesitancy of) speech thwarted any interpretation.  
 119 When it (becomes) daylight, goodness will prosper,  
 120 The month will change for us when the sun (Shamash) will shine upon me.

That very year my appointed time passed into health.  
 Tablet 1 of "I will praise the lord of wisdom".

- l. 13. *qabrātum* as "grave" is a deduction from the context and parallelism with the following line, rather than read [*u*]*k<sup>2</sup>*-*ta-at-ta-a gab-ra-a-tum* "opposition is brought to an end".  
 l. 14. Or possibly a play on *e-nu-ús-šú* "in his lordliness". *ušaṭbi*, cf. I. 60, present tense (*JCS* 18 51).  
 l. 15. *ekḫēlēmuma*, possibly "the *šedu* and *lamassu* heed his gloom and put themselves at a distance".  
 l. 16. The reading <sup>d</sup>*UTU* is not sure and could be *DINGIR-šú*.  
 l. 18. *ikkarāṭma*, if this broken reading is correct cf. *karāṭu* "take pity"; *Theodicy* iv. 44, *BWL* 72; *nakrutu* = *nashuru*, "pardon" (*ZA* 43, 49, n. 1144; p. 74, l. 44).  
 l. 19. *kānu* is used of assigning bad or good fortune (*CAD* K 166 cf. *BWL* 72; 33; 112: 30) or, less likely here, of maintaining and preserving a person's life (*CAD* K 167).  
 l. 21. *niṭatušu*, cf. *Ludlul* II, 99.  
 l. 26. *b/pāru*, "to cover with skin" (cf. *ZA* 43, 242, 337 and for medical possibilities *TDP* xxvi).  
 l. 28. *šullumu*, "to transport safely" (*JNES* 11 133). If . . . *ina namtari* then "who brings the angry one safely through the plague". On *šabāsu* see J. Laessøe, *Bīt rimki* 27, 58; 38, 37.  
 l. 109. on *barū*, "to be red (bloodshot)" of the eyes see D. J. Wiseman, *BSOAS* 30 (1967), 502, n. 58.  
 l. 110. *šarāpu* plays on the ambivalence of A "burn" and B "dye red", cf. l. 108.  
 l. 111. *šalāmu* of the human face is to become dark or flushed with anger (cf. *CAD* A/1 76).  
 l. 113. If *\*garālu* (biform *\*garāru*) possibly "to roll over and over".  
 l. 119. *iššira* contra *ši-ra* (R. Borger, *JCS* 18 51).  
 l. 120. *innamma* may be intended as a sound play on *inammir/inammera*.  
 l. 121. *šattamma* This reading would be suitable as a sound play on *innamma*, and as a development from *arku* (l. 120). Otherwise read *KUR<sup>ud</sup>-ma* as *akšudma*.





## DER BRIEF DES GILGAMESŠ

By F. R. KRAUS

Oliver R. Gurney hat mit seinen formvollendeten Kopien von Keilschrifttexten, die dem assyriologischen "Leser" zusätzlich zu reicher Belehrung seltenen ästhetischen Genuss schenken, auch das Unikum einer assyrischen Provinzbibliothek erschlossen<sup>1</sup> und damit der uns bekannten altmesopotamischen Literatur nebenher unter anderem zwei Werke zugefügt, welche zwei neue literarische Gattungen vertreten. Das Schelmenmärchen vom "Armen Jungen aus Nippur" ist dank Gurneys Bearbeitung und Kommentar<sup>2</sup> ein Klassiker der babylonischen Literatur geworden. Neben ihm hat der "Brief des Gilgameš",<sup>3</sup> in seiner Art ebenso überraschend und neu, nicht zu Unrecht anscheinend wenig Beachtung gefunden. Der Gratulant, seit seinem Erscheinen von ihm angezogen, hat sich zweiundzwanzig Jahre lang immer wieder vergebens bemüht, die Geheimnisse des ihm rätselhaften Textes zu ergründen.<sup>4</sup> Statt eines Ergebnisses legt er nunmehr eine Reihe von Fragen und Überlegungen dem Herausgeber des merkwürdigen Briefes und den Mitstreibenden vor.

1. Für den Text sei auf Gurneys Kopien<sup>5</sup> und Umschrift<sup>3</sup> verwiesen. Ein neuer Übersetzungsversuch stützt sich vor allem auf die seit Gurneys Bearbeitung erschienenen Wörterbücher.

1. Zu T i . [ . . . . . ] ,<sup>6</sup> dem König von . . ranunna, sprich:
2. Am Wort [Gilgameš . . . ] ,<sup>7</sup> König von Ur, gebürtig aus Kullab;
3. Geschöpf des Anu, [Enlil] und Ea, Günstling des Šamaš, Liebling des Marduk,
4. der wie (an) ein(em) Faden<sup>8</sup> vom Horizont bis zum Zenith alle Länder beherrscht
5. und dessen Füße die auf Hochsitzen tronenden Könige küssen;
6. der König, welcher vom (Orte des) Sonnenaufgangs bis zum (Orte des)

---

<sup>1</sup> O. R. Gurney und J. J. Finkelstein, *The Sultantepe tablets* 1 (1957); O. R. Gurney und P. Hulin, *ditto* 2 (1964). Dazu O. R. Gurney, *Anatolian Studies* 2 (1952), S. 25–35; *Proceedings of the British Academy* 41 (1955), S. 21–41, und andere Aufsätze, siehe z.B. die folgenden Anmerkungen.

<sup>2</sup> *AnSt.* 6 (1956), S. 145–164; 22 (1972), S. 149–158.

<sup>3</sup> O. R. Gurney, *AnSt.* 7 (1957), S. 127–136, mit 8 (1958), S. 245 No. 40 f.

<sup>4</sup> Vgl. F. R. Kraus, *JNES* 19 (1960), S. 117 rechts mit Anm. 8; *RA* 64 (1970), S. 59 f. III.; Gast-Seminar Universität Gent (7.I.1970); Gastvorträge an den Universitäten München (2.VI.1975) und Genf (21.XI.1975); Vortrag auf dem 22. Kongress von Oosters Genootschap, Leiden (8.IX.1979).

<sup>5</sup> *STT* 1 Nr. 40–42.

<sup>6</sup> Zwischen *a-na* und *l u g a l* ist in A Raum für sieben bis dreizehn Zeichen, von denen in A das erste, TI, und das letzte (siehe sofort), in C das erste und ein Rest des zweiten oder dritten erhalten sind.

Das letzte Zeichen von A könnte [H]A oder [G]IR sein oder die erhaltenen vier Keile sind auf zwei Zeichen zu verteilen, das erste nicht ergänzbar, das zweite U.

<sup>7</sup> Zwischen *um-ma* und *u r i<sub>2</sub> ki* ist in A Platz für acht bis neun Zeichen. Die ersten vier sind nach A, Z. 37, zu *GIŠ.GIN.MAŠ*, das letzte nach den kümmerlichen Spuren und dem Zusammenhange wohl zu [l u g a]l zu ergänzen. Zwischen ihnen wäre noch Platz etwa für \*l ú k a l a g g a oder nach Z. 45 eher l u g a l *dan-nu*; nach der anderwärts in A zu beobachtenden Zeichenverteilung ist aber auch ein leerer Raum denkbar.

<sup>8</sup> Da zwischen *ša ki-ma q [é-e]* und [u]l-tu in A noch Raum für bis zu fünf Zeichen ist, die ich nicht ergänzen kann, ist in der Übersetzung nach Gurney, S. 132 z.St., angenommen, er sei unbeschrieben gewesen.

Sonnenuntergangs alle Länder wie (an) ein(em) Faden *sich unterworfen* hat:<sup>9</sup>

7. Folgendes [(*sage*) *ich auf Be*] *fehl*<sup>10</sup> von Enlil, (dem Gott) des Sieges;
8. [ . . . . . *Briefe hatte ich* . . . . . ]<sup>11</sup> und hatte je 600 Mann *Elitetruppen*<sup>12</sup> zu dir geschickt und (sie) dorthin bringen lassen.
9. [Betreffs] *grosser* [ . . . . . ]<sup>13</sup> von Obsidian und Lapislazuli, in gediegenes Gold gefasst,
10. zum Anbinden an [ . . . . . ]<sup>14</sup> meines Freundes Enkidu hatte ich dir geschrieben, aber du hast geantwortet: "Es gibt keine".
11. Hiemit schreibe ich dir nunmehr. Wenn du diesen Brief von mir zu sehen bekommst,
12. [mach dich auf]<sup>15</sup> und reise nach *dem Lande Eriš* ab und nimm eine *Pferdekarawane*<sup>16</sup> mit!<sup>17</sup>
13. [n] *bissige* Hunde, angriffslustig wie Löwen;
14. [n] Schimmel mit schwarzen Streifen;
15. 70 000 Rappen mit weissen Streifen;
16. 100 000 Stuten, deren Fell das Aussehen von Berg- . . . . .<sup>18</sup> hat;<sup>19</sup>
17. 40 000 junge Stierkälber, die nicht aufhören<sup>20</sup> munter herumzuspringen;
18. 50 000 Gespanne "bunte" Maultiere;
19. 50 000 stolze Jungstiere mit wohlgeformten Hufen und intakten Hörnern;
20. 20 000 *Gefässe mit Pech*,<sup>21</sup> 30 000 Gefässe mit Butter; 80 000 Behälter mit Wein;

<sup>9</sup> Siehe zuletzt M/2 (1977), S. 9 links 3. *šutemkū*.

<sup>10</sup> Ergänzungsvorschlag *um-ma-a* [*a-na/ana/ina qa*]-*bé-e*.

<sup>11</sup> Am Anfang der Zeile könnten sowohl nach A wie nach C bis zu zwölf Zeichen verloren sein, die vom Schreiben von Briefen gehandelt haben dürften. Es wäre aber sehr gewagt, auf Grund zweier mittellassyrischer Belege (L [1973], S. 91 links c) Ende) am Ende der Lücke \**[ú-lap]-pit-ma* o.ä., "hatte ich geschrieben", ergänzen zu wollen.

<sup>12</sup> So unter der nicht beweisbaren Annahme, mit *sig.meš* sei *sig<sub>5</sub>.meš* = *damqūtu* gemeint.

<sup>13</sup> Vor *ša* können ursprünglich bis zu zwölf Zeichen gestanden haben; am Anfang wohl [*aš-šum*] o.ä.

<sup>14</sup> Nach Gurneys eigenhändigem Zusatz in dem mir gesandten Sonderabdrucke ist dort auf S. 128 Anmerkung 3 zu streichen und die Kopie des Zeichenrestes, mit dem A, Z. 10 beginnt, korrekt.

<sup>15</sup> Anfang von A, Z. 12, [*ti-be*]-*ē-ma*.

<sup>16</sup> Die Zeichengruppe *DIŠ KUR* in A und C möchte ich *il<sub>4</sub>-lat* lesen.

<sup>17</sup> *šapāru itti*, "jemanden/etwas mit jemandem mitschicken" (s. AHW., S. 405 links *itti* 2) a), jedoch unter *šapārum*, S. 1170, nicht aufgeführt), scheint hier, wo derjenige, welcher mitschickt, mit demjenigen, mit welchem er mitschickt, identisch wäre, fehl am Platze. Ich nehme an, der Verfasser habe gemeint, was ich oben als Übersetzung biete. Abweichend, jedoch mit demselben Ergebnis, Gurney, S. 133 zur Stelle.

<sup>18</sup> Die Version in A und B, *pa-an ka-nak-ti* (vgl. AHW., S. 819 rechts *pānu* I 13) c)), scheint mir besser als *ka-nak-ti* in C. Der Baum *kanaktu* lässt sich nicht bestimmen, siehe die Wörterbücher.

<sup>19</sup> Da die drei Wörter, welche SU wiedergeben könnte, *mašku*, *pagru* und *zumru*, Maskulina sind, ist *šak-nu* in B richtig, *šak-[n] q-at* in A falsch.

<sup>20</sup> Die meines Wissens sonst nicht belegte Form *i-KIL-lu-ú/u* könnte nach von Soden, AnOr. 33 (1952), § 9b, als *ikellū* zu *kalū* gestellt werden, s. AHW., S. 429 links *kalū* V 8) c).

<sup>21</sup> Gegen den unsicheren Lesungsversuch *u k kúp-r[a]* (!) in B, wobei RA ohne den Zeichenschliessenden zweiten Senkrechten geschrieben wäre, muss ich selbst einwenden, dass ich Pech in Töpfen sonst nicht nachweisen kann.

21. 80 000 Bund . . . . . ; 90 000 “Oberteile”<sup>22</sup> von grossen Tischen aus Schwarzholz vom . . . . . -Baume;<sup>23</sup>
22. 100 000 Eselhengste<sup>24</sup> belade mit . . . . .<sup>25</sup> Wacholder und schicke (alles) *vor dir (her)*<sup>26</sup> und komm her!
23. Einen Goldklumpen . . . . . – er soll 30 Minen wiegen! – will ich auf der Brust meines Freundes Enkidu anbringen!  
(Von) x tausend . . . . . -Steinen, . . . . .<sup>27</sup> Lapislazuli, allen Arten Berggestein will ich kunstgerecht Gebinde<sup>28</sup> dazu verfertigen!
24. 40 000 *Barren* weisses Zinn<sup>29</sup> für die Schatzkammer<sup>30</sup> des grossen Herrn Marduk;
25. 90 000 Talente Eisen, reines, hochwertiges, erlesenes, erprobtes, ausgesuchtes, kostbares, . . . . . , . . . . . ,
26. *geschmiedetes*, das kein/keine/keinen [ . . . . . ] hat<sup>31</sup> . . . . .<sup>32</sup>

<sup>22</sup>Die Serie HAR.ra = *hubullu* 4 Z. 191, MSL 5 (1957), S. 167, kennt zwar *giš banšur sag.dū* = *ša qa-qā-di*, aber *sag.dū giš banšur* scheint nur hier vorzukommen und bleibt mangels Kontexts unverständlich; AHW., S. 846 links *paššūrum* 5), rät zweifelnd “Tischplatte”, vielleicht zu modern gedacht.

<sup>23</sup>Für *giš ta-ti-tu/du* siehe inzwischen AHW., S. 1340 links. Auch sein sumerisches Äquivalent *giš mes ha.lu.úb má.ganna* führt uns nicht weiter. Die Übersetzung “Dalbergia Sissoo von Mekan” bei A. Salonen, AASF B 127 (1963), S. 221 erster Absatz, setzt *giš mes ha.lu.úb má.ganna* mit *giš mes má.ganna* = *musukkannu* gleich, wozu kein Anlass besteht. Übrigens verwirft neuestens M/2 (1977), S. 237–239 rechts *musukkannu*, die seinerzeit auch von Landsberger, WdO 3 (1966) S. 261, und AHW., S. 678 links *musukkannu* (erschienen 1968), übernommene Identifikation stillschweigend wieder (“a tree imported from the East, and its wood”). Beispiele für *šulum* mit folgendem Baumnamen im Genitiv zitieren Š (1962), S. 241 *šulmu* 4, who unsere Stelle fehlt, und AHW., S. 1110 rechts f. 5). Die Vermutung Š, S. 241 rechts Ad meaning 4, *šulmu* bezeichne vielleicht die Galläpfel, wird durch unsere Stelle widerlegt. Was aber “Schwarzholz” konkret bedeutet, bleibt mir unklar.

<sup>24</sup>So M/2 (1977), S. 230 links *mūru* Schlussabschnitt.

<sup>25</sup>Syntaktische Zugehörigkeit von *e-x-šu*(?), nur in B erhalten, unklar.

<sup>26</sup>Gurneys Übersetzung von *a-na/ana IGI-ka* scheint durch den Kontext gefordert, jedoch ohne Parallele.

<sup>27</sup>Die in I/J (1960), S. 328; AHW., S. 413 (erschienen 1963), angenommene Identität von *na aš-pu-u* mit *ia-aš-pu* ist aufzugeben nach Landsberger, JCS 21 (1967), S. 154 Anm. 84; MSL 10 (1970), S. 21 f. zu HAR.ra = *hubullu* 16, Z. 177. Damit entfällt auch die Deutung als “Jaspis”.

<sup>28</sup>S. mein *takšūru*, RA 64 (1970), S. 59–61 III.

<sup>29</sup>D.h. Zinn bester Qualität; Stelle nach Landsberger, JNES 24 (1965), S. 295 e). Das dort mit “Barren” wiedergegebene Wort kann ich nicht lesen bzw. ergänzen. Die Reste passen nicht zu *le'um*, das – wie ich Muhly, Copper and Tin (New Haven, Ct. 1973), s. Index S. 523 links, Akkadian words for tin ingots, entnehme – von Zinnbarren gebraucht wird, s. L (1973), S. 159 rechts, d).

<sup>30</sup>Statt *SILA*<sub>4</sub> ist sicher das ähnliche Zeichen *ERIM*<sub>4</sub> (:PISAN×UD) zu lesen, Ideogramm von *išittu*.

<sup>31</sup>Die beschädigte Zeile ist sehr schwierig. Ergänzung des zweiten Wortes zu *bat-[q]u* wäre gegen das erste in B erhaltene Zeichen, deutlich NU. Überdies *batqu*, “cast”, so M/1 (1977), S. 115 links *maššu* b), nicht in den Wörterbüchern und sachlich unvereinbar mit vorhergehendem *maššu*, “geschmiedet”, während das Adjektiv *batqu* in seinen von den Wörterbüchern gegebenen ungünstigen Bedeutungen nicht in eine Reihe von Wörtern für gute Eigenschaften passt. Auch Gurneys *bat-[q]u* (?) *la ra-šu-u*, “having no flaw”, falls wirklich zu den B (1965), S. 167 rechts f. *batqu* d), gesammelten Belegen zu stellen, sachlich doch wohl bei Beschreibung des Rohmaterials fehl am Platze. Von den nach AHW., S. 961 rechts *rašūm* 7), in Verbindung mit diesem Verbum vorkommenden Wörtern für Mängel lässt sich keines mit BE-NU in Beziehung bringen.

<sup>32</sup>Auch die zweite Zeilenhälfte bleibt mir völlig unverständlich. Die Zeichen am Zeilenende von C kann ich mit denen in A nicht in Übereinstimmung bringen. Altbabylonische Orthographie *i-[i]p-[pu-uš*(?)] in A unwahrscheinlich.

27. 120 000 Talent . . . . ., woraus der Schmied *etwas* für den Tempel machen wird,
28. *Etwas Neues eigener Art*,<sup>33</sup> etwas Kostbares, (*aus der*) Ferne (*kommend*), das meine Augen noch nie gesehen haben, 'voll oder leer'<sup>34</sup>,
29. Suche [n tausend] Mann *zum Tragen*<sup>35</sup> aus und vereinige (sie).
30. *Neue grosse Boote*<sup>36</sup> fülle mit Silber (und) Gold und fahre mit dem Silber und Gold *den Euphrat hinunter*!<sup>37</sup>
31. *Am/An den Kai* von Babylon wirst du . . . . .,<sup>38</sup> dann will ich es mit (eigenen) Augen sehen und vor Bewunderung erstarren!
32. Wenn ich dich am 15. Tašrītu nicht im Tore meiner Stadt Ur gesehen haben werde,<sup>39</sup>
33. (dann) — ich schwöre (es) bei den grossen Göttern, von denen gilt, dass bei ihnen geschworene Eide nicht aus der Welt zu schaffen sind,<sup>40</sup>
34. ich schwöre bei meinen Göttern Lugal-banda, Sin, Šamaš, Palil, Lugal-ira, Mes-lamta-ea,
35. Zababa und dem Gott, meinem Herrn — werde ich meinen . . . . .,<sup>41</sup> dessen Namen du stets 'rühmen' wirst,<sup>42</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Mit aller gebotenen Vorsicht sei als Lesungsversuch *ši[k](?)-nu eš-šu [š]a(?) ra-ma-ni-šu* vorgeschlagen.

<sup>34</sup> M/1, S. 173 rechts *malū* e), letztes, Zitat, kennt keinen weiteren Beleg für diesen Ausdruck.

<sup>35</sup> Unter der unsicheren Annahme, dass x (x) x *ba-li* etwa zu *\*ana babāli* zu ergänzen sei.

<sup>36</sup> *neqelpūm* am Ende der Zeile fordert "Boot(e)" am Anfang der Zeile, aber die Spuren in A und B sträuben sich gegen Ergänzung. Unsicher und etwas gewaltsam wäre etwa *\*(g i š) m á. [g u] l a m e [š]*, s. *magulū*, M/1, S. 48 links; AHW., S. 577 links. Zugegebenermassen orthographisch und der Form nach recht bedenklich die Auffassung der folgenden Zeichengruppe *e šā a [t] i* als *eššati*, weil *e-* statt *eš-*, gelegentlich altbabylonisch, z. B. UM 8/1 (1914) Nr. 81 Z. 14, später äusserst selten (nach E [1958], S. 375 links *eššu* b) nur in den "chemisch-technischen Rezepten") und *eššetu* zu erwarten. Für "neue Boote" s. die Belege *ib*.

<sup>37</sup> *né-quel-pa-a* ist offenbar der erste Beleg für den in den Grammatiken und bei Heidel, AS 13 (1940), S. 140, rekonstruierten Imperativ des N der Vierradikaligen im Singular masc., hier mit Ventivendung; er verhält sich zum Punktual *iqqelpā* wie beim N des starken Verbums *napris* zu *ipparis*. Der Wasserlauf, den man hinunterfährt, wird nach Heidel, S. 86 ff., einmal als Akkusativ und einmal als präpositionaler Ausdruck mit *ina qereb* zu *neqelpū* konstruiert, vgl. auch das *ina urpati*, "durch die Wolken", Segeln des Mondes. *neqelpū* (Š) mit *ana* und Stadtname kommt einmal zur Angabe des Reiseziels vor, wofür einmal auch *adi*.

So kann man hier zweifeln, ob der Adressat "zum Euphrat" hinunterfahren soll, wobei Weiterfahrt auf dem Euphrat zu subintelligieren wäre, oder ob er "den Euphrat" hinunterfahren soll.

<sup>38</sup> Zeichenreste in B zur Not zu *\*ta-ta[r]-r[a]d-ma* zu ergänzen. Aber einerseits kenne ich *tarādum* mit Boot als Objekt nur aus AbB 2 (1966) Nr. 98 Z. 10 f. (lies dort *i-na-an-na a-na gi š ù r gi š i m m a r . h i a*), andererseits wäre "schicken" nicht am Platze, wenn *né-quel-pa-a*, Z. 30, und *at-ma-ru-ka*, Z. 32, bedeuten, dass der Adressat selbst beim Absender erscheinen soll.

<sup>39</sup> So zu erraten, aber deutlich geschriebenes *at-ma-ru-ka* mir unverständlich; ebenfalls unmögliche Verbalformen sind in B *up-sa-as-su*, Z. 33, und *tal-tu-NI[M . . .]*, Z. 35. Erste Person Singular Subjunktiv wäre mit dem am Anfange der Zeile zu vermutenden *šumma* unvereinbar.

<sup>40</sup> Anders AHW., S. 838 rechts *pasāsum* Dt 3; S. 1341 rechts *tāwītum* 2); s. aber S. 1314 rechts *tamītu*.

<sup>41</sup> Aus Z. 36 f. erhellt, dass hier nur "mein Heer" bzw. "meinen Heerführer" gestanden haben kann, und zwar offenbar letzteres wegen des folgenden "dessen Namen". Eine plausible Ergänzung kann ich nicht vorschlagen, denn inhaltlich vielleicht annehmbares *\*rēš [e r i m] m e - i a* wäre orthographisch unzulässig, *\*rēš [e r i m . h i a] m e š - i a* räumlich unmöglich und gegen Kopie. Der vermutete Heerführer o.ä. tw. mit Gurney, S. 135 z. St., vielleicht als *tēbû*, "angreifend", qualifiziert.

<sup>42</sup> Dass der Adressat den — jedenfalls nicht genannten — Namen seines Verderbers stets rühmen solle, scheint mir ungereimt. Andererseits wäre es bedenklich, *tal-ta-nàm-ma-[a(?)]*, A Z. 35, von *šemû*, "hören", ableiten zu wollen.

36. zu dir schicken und er wird deine Städte zerreiben, deine Paläste plündern, deine Obstgärten [*umhacken*],<sup>43</sup>
37. in der Mündung deiner Kanäle *Gitter*<sup>44</sup> befestigen. *Die*<sup>45</sup> [ . . . . . ] deiner befestigten Städte, welche . . . . . sprechen, . . . . . wird einziehen und Gilgameš
38. wird darin wohnen, ihre<sup>46</sup> . . . . . sollen sie mir nicht anvertrauen!<sup>47</sup>
39. Deinen [ . . . . . ], deine *Hee*[*rführer*], deine *Werkmeister*, deine Söhne, deinen Besitz und deine Nachkommen
40. . . . . im Stadttore von Ur. Deine *Familie* und dich werde ich in das Haus des . . . . ., des *Schmiedes*, bringen und
41. [ . . . . . ] je [n] Talente Kupfer . . . . . werde ich schreiben.
42. [ . . . . . von Ur] mit den (Figuren der) Schutzgötter werde ich dich *an* der Strasse<sup>48</sup> aufstellen,
43. [Die *Einwohner*] von Ur werden um die Wette an dir vorübergehen.<sup>49</sup>
44. Schick mir schleunigst *A[ntwort auf meinen Brief]*<sup>50</sup> und komm her! Dann wirst du keine Strafe von mir auferlegt bekommen.<sup>51</sup>
45. Botschaft von Gilgameš, dem mächtigen Könige, der<sup>52</sup> keinen Rivalen hat.

Wie aus dem Übersetzungsversuche ersichtlich ist, ist mir manches unverständlich geblieben. So verstehe ich nicht, wen der Absender auf die Strafexpedition schicken will, und begreife in Z. 37–38 den Zusammenhang nicht, in welchen der Name des Absenders Gilgameš gehört; vielleicht muss man eine eingefügte direkte Rede annehmen. Errate ich den allgemeinen Sinn der stark zerstörten Z. 40–43 richtig, so soll der Adressat schliesslich, vielleicht an einem Tore angeschmiedet, der Stadtbevölkerung von Ur zur Schau gestellt werden.

2. Dass der Verfasser des Werkchens Gilgameš einen Brief andichtet, ist nicht als Extravaganz zu betrachten, wenn die letzte Fassung des akkadischen Gilgameš-Epos<sup>53</sup> aus Ninive Gilgameš seine Abenteuer in einer Inschrift auf einer steinernen Stele niederschreiben lässt.<sup>54</sup> Weitere Übereinstimmungen mit dem Epos<sup>55</sup> sind die Orthographie DINGIR GIŠ.GÍM.MAŠ, Z. [2]; 37; [45], des

<sup>43</sup> Man erwartet *ikaššit* oder *inakkis*.

<sup>44</sup> So jetzt M/2, S. 230 links *murudû* a); AHw., S. 677 rechts *mur(u)dû* 1), nach Gurneys Vorschlag, S. 135.

<sup>45</sup> Aus A Z. 37–38 und B Z. 37–38 einen Text zu konstituieren, ist mir nicht gelungen. Der Gedankengang ist mir unklar, die “Übersetzung” deshalb ganz unsicher; vielleicht liegen hier zwei teilweise verschiedene Versionen vor.

<sup>46</sup> Plural feminin.

<sup>47</sup> *a-a ip-qîd-a-ni*.

<sup>48</sup> *ina la x [AN].DIL.ÀM (: [T] ILLA<sub>4</sub>)*.

<sup>49</sup> *ina b a l-ka* gegen AHw., S. 283 links *gašārum* Dt 2), für *ina etēqika*, womit das dort vorhergehende Zitat *ugdaššarā ana amārika* zu vergleichen ist.

<sup>50</sup> In A vielleicht *[a]r-ḥiṣ me-[ḥir tuppīja]* zu ergänzen.

<sup>51</sup> *arna našû* ist zwar belegt, aber *\*ul ta-na-āš-ša an-ni* wäre mehrfach bedenklich. *ul* müsste als literarische Reminiszenz erklärt werden, der Ventiv bliebe unerklärt und “meine Strafe” im Sinne von “von mir aufzuerlegende Strafe” kann ich nicht belegen.

<sup>52</sup> Nach Kollation Gurney, AnSt. 8 (1958), S. 245 zur Stelle.

<sup>53</sup> Stellennachweise aus dem Gilgameš-Epos im folgenden aus den Übersetzungen A) Speiser in ANET (1950), S. 72 rechts – 99 links/Grayson in ANET 3 (1969), S. (503)–(507); B) Albert Schott/von Soden, Reclam Universal-Bibliothek Nr. 7235/35 a (Stuttgart 1970).

<sup>54</sup> A, S. 73 rechts Z. 8; B, S. 17, Z. 8.

<sup>55</sup> Aus hier unten (§ 5) zur Sprache kommenden chronologischen Gründen ist dabei vielleicht an die Rezension aus Assur zu denken.

Namens Gilgameš;<sup>56</sup> die Reihe der vier Götter, Z. 3, die auch dort in enger Beziehung zu Gilgameš stehen;<sup>57</sup> Lugal-banda als erster "seiner" Götter, bei denen Gilgameš schwört, Z. 34;<sup>58</sup> die Erwähnung eines Schmieds, Z. 27 und 40 (?),<sup>59</sup> und vor allem die des Enkidu, des Freundes von Gilgameš, Z. 10 und 23. Wie oben, Anm. 28, belegt, beziehe ich gegen das CAD und Böhl<sup>60</sup> die mir nicht ganz klare Passage Z. 23 betreffend das Anbringen eines grossen Goldklumpens auf der Brust des Enkidu und die kunstgerechte Anfertigung von "Gebinden", *takšīru*, dazu auf die tödliche Krankheit des Enkidu. Dass sie nach dem Epos nur zwölf Tage dauert,<sup>61</sup> also viel zu kurz für die in unserem Briefe, Z. 8–10, erwähnte Korrespondenz, erscheint mir nicht als Gegenargument, weil ein Appell an unseren Realitätssinn nicht zu der unwirklichen Sphäre des Briefes passt.

Nicht aus dem Epos, wohl aber aus der übrigen literarischen Gilgameš-Tradition stammen seine Epitheta "mächtiger König" und "der keinen Rivalen hat" in der Unterschrift Z. 45.<sup>62</sup>

Das Epitheton "Bürger von/geboren in Kullab", Z. 2, ist meines Wissens zwar sonst nicht belegt, aber mit der Tradition vereinbar, die Gilgameš z.B. "Herr von Kullab" nennt.<sup>63</sup>

Trotz solchen Übereinstimmungen mit Epos und Tradition fällt der Brief praktisch völlig aus ihrem Rahmen. Sonst stets als "König von Uruk" oder "Herr von Kullab" bezeichnet, trägt der Gilgameš unseres Briefes in auffallendem Gegensatz zu jeglicher Überlieferung in Z. 2 den ganz ungewöhnlichen Titel "König von Ur" und bezeichnet in Z. 32 die Stadt Ur als seine Residenz, vgl. noch Z. 40; 42 f. Unvereinbar mit dem Gesamtbestande der Tradition sind auch einerseits die ausdrücklich mehrmals deklarierte "Weltherrschaft" des briefschreibenden Gilgameš, Z. 4–6, und sein Umgang mit aussermesopotamischen Fürsten wie dem Empfänger des Briefes, Z. 1, andererseits seine Beziehungen zum Gotte Marduk, Z. 3, in Z. 24 "der grosse Herr Marduk" genannt, und dessen Kultstadt Babylon, Z. 31. Die Einführung des Gottes Marduk in den Brief lässt sich vielleicht als naiver Versuch des Verfassers bewerten, seinen Helden zu aktualisieren; des damit begangenen Anachronismus war er sich sicher nicht bewusst.

Zusammenfassend kann man sagen: der Brief des Gilgameš, durch die Nennung seines Absenders bereits in Z. 2 unmittelbar und deutlich zum Thema "Gilgameš" gestellt und durch gewisse Einzelzüge für Hörer und noch mehr Leser unverkennbar mit dem jüngsten Gilgameš-Epos verknüpft, steht nach Form und Inhalt ebenso deutlich nicht nur ausserhalb des Epos, sondern auch ausserhalb jeder anderen Gilgameš betreffenden Tradition.

3. Innerhalb der altesopotamischen Literatur steht der Brief des Gilgameš mindestens für uns allein als einziger Vertreter eines eigenen literarischen Genres.

Mit den bekannten Sammlungen sumerischer und akkadischer Briefe hat er nichts gemein. Denn verschiedene Sammlungen sumerischer Briefe, in altbabylo-

<sup>56</sup> Je ein Beispiel aus Assur: KAR 1 (1919) Nr. 115 Vs. 6; Ninive: Thompson, EG (1930), Pl. 2 Z. 27; Sultan Tepe: STT 1 Nr. 15 Vs. 1 + Rs. 17.

<sup>57</sup> A, S. 75 rechts V 21 f.; B, S. 23 V 21 f.

<sup>58</sup> A, S. 85 rechts Z. 174; B, S. 55 Z. 174.

<sup>59</sup> A, S. (506) rechts unten Z. (24); B, S. 67 Z. 25, vgl. Gurney, JCS 8 (1954), S. 95 Z. 17.

<sup>60</sup> RIA 3 (1957–1971), S. 368 links oben.

<sup>61</sup> Vgl. Landsberger, RA 62 (1968), S. 134 rechts Z. 4–12.

<sup>62</sup> Vgl. W. G. Lambert in (Garelli) Gilgameš et sa légende: VII<sup>e</sup> Rencontre (Paris, 1960), S. 44 f.

<sup>63</sup> Vgl. Jacobsen, AS 11 (1939), S. 80 ff. Z. 17–19.

nischer Zeit zusammengestellt,<sup>64</sup> mit unter anderem Korrespondenz von Königen der III. Dynastie von Ur und Königen von Isin, dürften auf authentische Briefe zurückgehen und zu Unterrichtszwecken angelegt worden sein.

Akkadische Briefe über in der Praxis viel vorkommende Themen wurden ebenfalls in altbabylonischer Zeit zur Übung von Schülern kopiert, vermutlich nach Vorlagensammlungen.<sup>65</sup>

Ich kenne nur einen vielleicht mit dem Brief des Gilgameš vergleichbaren Text auf einer aus Ur stammenden altbabylonischen Schultafel, die Gurney veröffentlicht hat.<sup>66</sup> Es ist der Beginn eines Briefes, von "Šarrukkīn, dem grossen Könige", Z. 10, an acht Männer, Z. 1–8, gerichtet. Leider hat der Kopist, offensichtlich kein guter oder wenigstens kein fortgeschrittener Schüler, nach sechzehn Zeilen seine mühselige Arbeit voll Fehler aufgegeben und ist auf ein anderes Thema übergegangen. Das von ihm hinterlassene Textfragment ist deshalb zwar als Phänomen bemerkenswert, inhaltlich jedoch von beschränktem Werte. Immerhin stimmen die Worte "um Burušhanda zu erobern", Z. 13 f., zur literarischen Tradition betreffs König Sargon von Akkad.<sup>67</sup>

Ich zweifle nicht daran, dass auch dieser Brief fiktiv ist. Derselben literarischen Gattung wie den Brief des Gilgameš kann ich ihn aber nicht zuordnen. Für den alten Mesopotamier waren vermutlich beide, Gilgameš wie Sargon von Akkad, Heldenkönige der fernen Vergangenheit. Für uns jedoch ist bis auf weiteres Sargon eine historische Persönlichkeit, Gilgameš eine Sagenfigur, ein Unterschied wie etwa der zwischen König Wilhelm dem Eroberer und König Artus. Unser Brief des Gilgameš bleibt also für mich das einzige altmesopotamische Beispiel des Literaturgenres "fiktiver Brief einer literarischen Sagenfigur".

Ein bis zu einem gewissen Grade mit ihm vergleichbares altmesopotamisches Literaturgenre ist die sogenannte "*narû*-Literatur", mehr oder weniger phantastische Heldengeschichten in Form von Inschriften bekannter, für uns an sich historischer alter Könige oder selbst Götter.<sup>68</sup> Fiktiver Königsbrief und fiktive Königsinschrift haben die Nachahmung einer Schrifttumsform gemein, die für praktische, also nicht für primär literarische Zwecke im Schwange war; vielleicht haben sie auch das Motiv der Nachahmung gemein, nämlich das Streben, einer literarischen Erfindung den Schein der Echtheit, die Autorität des Uraltüberlieferten zu verleihen.<sup>69</sup> Der Unterschied zwischen fiktivem Brief und fiktiver Inschrift liegt aber im Verhältnis ihrer Form zu ihrem Inhalt. Die uns bekannten Beispiele der "*narû*-Literatur" sind abgeschlossene Erzählungen in der 1. Person des Singulars, deren Inhalt von der für sie gewählten Form der Inschrift nicht oder nur unwesentlich beeinflusst wird; der Brief des Gilgameš dagegen ist auch seinem Inhalte nach ein Brief, d.h. nach Art der meisten altmesopotamischen Briefe ein schriftlich geäusselter Wunsch oder Befehl.

4. Gurney hat den Brief des Gilgameš als "a further example of Baby-

<sup>64</sup> Vgl. etwa Abdulwahid Ali, Sumerian letters (Microfilm – xerography. Ann Arbor, 1967), S. 1–6; Michalofski, The royal correspondence of Ur (Dissertation Yale, 1976).

<sup>65</sup> Vgl. mein "Briefschreibübungen im altbabylonischen Schulunterricht", JEOL 16 (1964), S. 16–39.

<sup>66</sup> UET 7 (1974) Nr. 73 I 1–16.

<sup>67</sup> Vgl. Weidner, BoSt. 6 (1922), S. 62 f. Z. 9; 64 f. Z. [27].

<sup>68</sup> Vgl. Güterbock, ZA 42 (1934), S. 62–86; Poebel, AS 14 (1947), S. 23–42; Gurney, AnSt. 5 (1955), S. 93–113; Finkelstein, JCS 11 (1957), S. 83–88.

<sup>69</sup> Nur vermutungs- und deshalb anmerungsweise sei der Gedanke geäussert, dass, weil sich die epische Erzählung des Verses, die Inschrift aber der Prosa bedient, nur die Nachahmung einer Inschrift dem Autor erlaubte, Prosa zu schreiben, und so den ihm oben zugeschriebenen Zweck zu erreichen.



lonian humour" qualifiziert wegen des für die Brust des Enkidu bestimmten dreissigpfündigen Goldklumpens, Z. 23, und der Tiere, Metalle und anderen Artikel, Z. [13]–27, "in quantities which are completely fantastic and absurd".<sup>70</sup> Ich war Gurney gefolgt und hatte den Brief "eine grotesk übertreibende Parodie auf bramarbasierendes Heldentum" genannt.<sup>71</sup> Das ist jedoch schon darum unhaltbar, weil das Wort Parodie "die Umformung einer . . . Dichtung, durch die bei möglichster Beibehaltung der Worte der Sinn ins Komische gezogen wird" bezeichnet.<sup>72</sup> Das ist aber hier nicht der Fall, ich hatte es auch nicht behaupten wollen und hätte "Satire" schreiben sollen.

Aber ist der Brief von Gilgameš überhaupt ein humoristisches Werk? Böhl<sup>60</sup> hat ihn nicht so beurteilt, Foster nennt ihn in seinem Artikel "Humor and Cuneiform Literature"<sup>73</sup> nicht.

Wie gesagt, begründet Gurney sein Urteil mit den masslos hohen Zahlen der verlangten Lieferungen, die wir nicht ernst nehmen können. Dürfen wir aber altmesopotamische Aussagen, die wir nicht ernst nehmen können, als humoristisch gemeint betrachten? In der altmesopotamischen schönen Literatur gibt es Beispiele unwahrscheinlich hoher Zahlen, die der Dichter sicher nicht humoristisch gemeint hat. Was den dreissigpfündigen Goldklumpen betrifft, werden Gilgameš und Enkidu im altbabylonischen Gilgameš-Epos jeder mit 300 kg Waffen ausgerüstet, unter denen sich Äxte von je 90 kg und Schwerter mit Klingen von 60 kg und anderen Teilen von 15 kg und 15 kg Gold befinden.<sup>74</sup> Wer aber ein Schwert, das 90 kg wiegt, schwingen kann, mag einen Goldklumpen von 15 kg auf der Brust tragen. Es tut hier übrigens nichts zur Sache, dass der Verfasser unseres Briefes das altbabylonische Gilgameš-Epos, dem die Passage entstammt, nicht gekannt haben wird. Sollte sie auch in der jüngsten Version vorgekommen sein, so könnte sie den Verfasser selbst zur Einführung des schweren Goldklumpens angeregt haben.

Für die hohen Zahlen bei den in unserem Briefe geforderten Lieferungen kann ich keine Parallelen aus der erzählenden Literatur beibringen, denn als solche kann ich das von 90 000 Mann unterstützte Heer von 360 000 Geistern, das in der früher "König von Kutha" genannten Geschichte Heere von 120 000, dann 90 000 und schliesslich 60 700 Mann vergebens bekämpfen,<sup>75</sup> bei der Märchensphäre, die – wenigstens für meinen Geschmack – in dieser Erzählung von Narām-Sin<sup>76</sup> herrscht, nicht ansehen.

Zieht man unter Vorwegnahme des unten § 5 Auszuführenden hier auch die assyrischen Königsinschriften zum Vergleiche heran, so habe ich den Eindruck, dass sie nirgends Beutelisten von solcher Länge und mit so hohen Zahlen aufweisen wie der "Bestell-Katalog", Z. [13]–27, unseres Briefes, wenn es auch seit Tiglatpileser nicht an sehr grossen Posten von Beutetieren gebricht.<sup>77</sup>

Aus den zitierten literarischen Beispielen dürfen wir schliessen, dass ein gewisses Mass an Übertreibung der altmesopotamischen Literatur eigen zu sein

<sup>70</sup> AnSt. 7, S. 127.

<sup>71</sup> JNES 19, S. 117 rechts.

<sup>72</sup> Meyers Grosses Konversations-Lexikon<sup>6</sup> 15 (1906), S. 463 rechts unten.

<sup>73</sup> JNES 6 (1974), S. 69–85.

<sup>74</sup> A, S. 79 rechts f. (IV) 30–36; B, S. 32 Z. 165–171.

<sup>75</sup> S. Gurney, AnSt. 5, S. 100–103 Z. 38; 61; 85–87.

<sup>76</sup> Vgl. Finkelstein, JCS 11 (1957), S. 83–88.

<sup>77</sup> Vgl. nur etwa Luckenbill, Ancient records 1 (1926) § 817; 2 (1927) § 22 (Sargon). Die besonders hohen Zahlen bei Sanherib wie in § 267 dürften chronologisch nicht mehr für Vergleichung mit unserem Briefe in Betracht kommen.

scheint, wenn sie die heroische Vergangenheit beschreiben will.<sup>78</sup> Ich wage nicht zu entscheiden, ob es eine Grenze gab, die ein Autor nur auf die Gefahr hin unglaublich zu werden überschreiten durfte, oder ob im Gegenteil der Grundsatz galt "je mehr, desto besser". Ich könnte auch gar keinen Masstab dafür finden, wo die Grenze wohl zu ziehen wäre. Gab es eine Grenze, so wage ich jetzt nicht mehr zu behaupten, dass ihre bewusste Überschreitung vom Autor humoristisch gemeint war.

Übertreibung glaube ich in unserm Briefe nicht nur in den hohen Zahlen feststellen zu müssen, sondern auch in der Häufung gewisser Elemente, inhaltlich in der schon mehrmals zitierten riesigen Liste der Wünsche des Absenders, stilistisch in den vielen Attributen zum Worte "Eisen", Z. 25 f. Aber auch diese Erscheinung fehlt in der Literatur nicht<sup>79</sup> und auch hier weiss ich nicht, ob ein antiker Hörer oder Leser sie als übermässig empfand und wenn ja, ob der Verfasser damit einen komischen Effekt beabsichtigt hatte.

5. Die drei Exemplare unseres Briefes sind nicht genauer zu datieren; der Schreiberlehrling [ . . . . -mu]šammer, nach dem einzigen erhaltenen Kolophon Verfertiger des Exemplars A, kommt sonst nicht vor.<sup>80</sup> Das dort nicht lokalisierte Original, das er kopiert hat, hat sich vermutlich im assyrischen Kernlande, vielleicht in Assur<sup>81</sup> oder Kalah, befunden. Dass es von einem Assyrier in Assyrien verfasst worden war, geht zwar noch nicht aus seiner Sprache, "standard Babylonian" mit Assyriasmen, hervor, wird mir aber sehr wahrscheinlich durch Gurneys Nachweis des bombastischen und dabei schiefen Ausdrucks "der vom Horizont bis zum Zenith alle Länder beherrscht" in den Annalen Tiglath-pileser's,<sup>82</sup> womit ausserdem nach dem Stande unserer Kenntnis ein Terminus *post quem* für die Entstehung des Briefes gewonnen wäre. Auch Gilgamešs Epitheton "Geschöpf von Anu, [Enlil] und Ea", Z. 3, ist nach dem CAD zuerst in Assyrien bezeugt.<sup>83</sup>

Dass Gilgamešs Schwurgötter, Z. 34 f., ausser Lugal-banda auch im Staatsvertrage Assur-nīrāris V. mit Matī-il von Bīt Agusi vorkommen, beweist dagegen

<sup>78</sup> Vgl. noch die Tagesmärsche von Gilgameš und Enkidu in der jüngsten Version des Gilgameš-Epos, je 20 + 30 = 50 Meilen, vom Dichter selbst als Fünfehnfaches der normalen Tagesleistung beziffert, A, S. 82 links oben; B, S. 38 I 1–4, und in der altbabylonischen Version die 10 000 Meilen des Zedernwaldes – allerdings aus Enkidus Mund –, A, S. 79 links III 16; B, S. 31 Z. 107.

Als literarische Übertreibung anderer Art als die hier genannten erwähne ich die Wiederaufbauung des Tempels der Dingir-mah von Adab, é-n a m-z u, welcher nach der fingierten Inschrift des Königs Lugal-ane-mundu eine Fläche von einer Hufe und 3 Morgen, b ù r e š e<sub>3</sub>, bedeckte, vgl. Güterbock, ZA 42, S. 41 f. A II "28" f. mit S. 44 Anm. 8. Mit dieser enormen Fläche von ca 8,5 ha vgl. etwa die Masse von E-sag-ila in Babylon, welches nach dem Ausgrabungsplan bei Koldewey, Das wiedererstehende Babylon<sup>4</sup> (1925), S. 181, Abb. 114, ohne den "östlichen Anbau" etwa 3/4 ha Grund bedeckte. (Der Tempel selbst in Adab scheint nicht ausgegraben worden zu sein, vgl. etwa Christian, Altertumskunde des Zweistromlandes 1: Text (1940), S. 60–62, besonders S. 61 oben. Zum Vergleiche siehe etwa RIA 1 (1928), Tafel 2 b–d).

<sup>79</sup> Für stilistische Worthäufung vgl. nur etwa Gurney, AnSt. 5, S. 102–104 Z. 88; 94–96.

<sup>80</sup> S. H. Hunger, AOAT 2 (1968), S. 113 Nr. 361.

<sup>81</sup> Für eine in Assur kopierte Tafel aus Sultan Tepe vgl. Hunger, op. cit., S. 116 Nr. 380 mit S. 7 links zweiter Absatz.

<sup>82</sup> AnSt. 7, S. 127. Die Stelle ist II R (1866) 67 Z. 4, Luckenbill 1, § 787 Ende.

<sup>83</sup> S. CAD B (1965), S. 244 *binûtu* b), wonach der König zwar erst seit Asarhaddon "Geschöpf eines Gottes", aber bereits Šamši-Adad V, 824–811 v. Chr., "Geschöpf des (Tempels) Ešara".

nichts, weil sie dort nicht in geschlossener Gruppe, sondern unter Dutzenden von Göttern, in anderer Reihenfolge und teilweise unter anderen Namen auftreten.<sup>84</sup>

Auch ein anderer Gedankengang führt mich nach Assyrien als Ursprungsland unseres Briefes. Böhl erschien er als "ein phantastischer, . . . . in Einzelheiten fehlerhafter Schulaufsatz".<sup>60</sup> Dagegen wird man sofort einwenden, ein "Schulaufsatz" wäre nicht für eine Provinzbibliothek *in triplo* kopiert worden, was mit unserem Briefe geschehen ist. Will man ihn als Improvisation eines Schreibers betrachten, um Böhls Anregung einigermaßen zu folgen, so könnte der Inhalt des Briefes uns einen Fingerzeig geben. Im Grunde besteht er aus der diplomatischen Botschaft eines Königs an einen anderen; einer im Detail ausgearbeiteten Liste verlangter Tributlieferungen; einem feierlichen Eide; der Androhung von Repressalien bei Widersetzlichkeit des Adressaten; der kurzen Beschreibung des Loses eines besiegt und, wenn ich den lückenhaften Text recht begreife, im Triumph eingebrachten feindlichen Fürsten und seines Hofstaates. Alle diese Themen sind nun eins wie das andere Gemeingut assyrischer Annalen und historischer Königsinschriften. Sollte etwa ein assyrischer Hofkanzleischreiber einmal aus diesen ihm geläufigen Motiven eine kleine literarische Arbeit neuen Stils zusammengestellt haben?

6. Zu erklären bliebe dann noch die Form des Werkes und die Wahl seines Helden. Der Held des Briefes ist eindeutig sein Absender, Gilgameš. Der Empfänger wird zwar genannt, aber dabei bleibt es auch; ausser seinem Namen und Titel erfahren wir praktisch nichts über ihn. Durch seinen Helden und was uns von ihm mitgeteilt wird, gehört der Brief, wie schon hinlänglich erörtert, zum literarischen Komplex "Gilgameš", in den er sich jedoch nicht einordnen lässt.

Für uns ist die freie Variation über bekannte Themen und selbständige Vermehrung gegebener Stoffe in den modernen Literaturen eine Selbstverständlichkeit. In der altnesopotamischen Literatur ist der Brief des Gilgameš für mich das einzige Beispiel dafür. Was hat sein Autor mit ihm gewollt?

Als ich den Brief noch als Humoreske betrachtete, habe ich ihn als eine Karikatur auf Renommierheldentum gedeutet. War er aber nicht komisch gemeint, so beschwört er das Bild eines Gewaltmenschen grössten Formats herauf. Dafür gibt es zwei Erklärungen. Der Autor will entweder einen unvergleichlichen Helden verherrlichen oder einen scheusslichen Bösewicht brandmarken.

Es scheint mir völlig ausgeschlossen, dass irgendein altnesopotamischer Autor jemals eine Satire auf die traditionelle Figur des Gilgameš oder Rufmord an ihr beabsichtigt haben sollte. Ein Unterfangen solcher Art ist meines Wissens der gesamten vorgriechischen Welt fremd. Ebenso wenig kann ich mir aber eine Verherrlichung des Gilgameš in dieser unkonventionellen Form vorstellen. Das zwingt mich anzunehmen, mit "Gilgameš" sei gar nicht der Sagenheld, sondern jemand anders gemeint. Freilich kann ich kein einziges altnesopotamisches Beispiel für dieses in neueren Literaturen geläufige Verfahren anführen. In dem Gedanken bestärkt mich jedoch der hier bereits hervorgehobene ungewöhnliche Titel "König von Ur", den der Gilgameš unseres Briefes trägt. Er kommt mir geradezu wie eine Warnung des Verfassers an den Zuhörer oder Leser vor, der Gilgameš des Briefes sei gar nicht der allbekannte Gilgameš. Ich möchte übrigens glauben, dass kein Babylonier aus Gilgameš einen König von Ur hätte machen können; für mich ist das ein weiterer Grund, den Verfasser des Briefes für einen Assyrer zu halten.

Bevor wir nun die umständlich vorbereitete Frage stellen, wer mit Gilgameš

<sup>84</sup>S. Weidner, AfO 8 (1932–1933), S. 22 f. Rs. VI 6–26; A, S. (533) rechts VI (6).

gemeint ist und warum er unter falschem Namen als der bekannte Held der Sagen eingeführt wird, müssen wir noch einen Blick auf seinen Korrespondenten werfen.

7. Als ob wir noch nicht genug Schwierigkeiten hätten, spielt uns hinsichtlich des Adressaten unseres Briefes der Erhaltungszustand des Textes einen Streich; in allen drei Exemplaren ist die erste Zeile, in der Name und Titel des Empfängers standen, verloren oder verstümmelt. Sicher ist jetzt nur noch das erste Zeichen seines Namens, TI. Der Name ist entweder sehr lang gewesen oder hatte noch ein, wenn nicht selbst zwei Wörter hinter sich;<sup>85</sup> ich kann keinen Ergänzungsvorschlag machen. Der uns somit unbekannt bleibende Adressat wird König eines Landes oder Ortes mir unklaren Namens genannt, auf dessen durch einen kleinen Schaden der Tafeloberfläche von Exemplar A unsichere erste Silbe "ranunna" folgt. \*Ašranunna, \*Babranunna, \*Badranunna, \*Barranunna, \*Beranunna, \*Kurranunna, \*Naranunna wären mit dem vorhandenen Rest(?) des Zeichens vereinbar. Ich kenne keine geographischen Namen, die eine dieser Formen aufwiesen. Auf alle reimt der seit Šamši-Adad V., 824–811 v. Chr., gelegentlich vorkommende, UD-nu-na/nu oder UD-nun-na geschriebene Name einer assyrischen Provinzhauptstadt,<sup>86</sup> der wegen der Vieldeutigkeit des ersten Schriftzeichens noch nicht ermittelt werden konnte. Versuche, ihn mit dem Namen im Briefe zur Deckung zu bringen, wie etwa \*par/\*para-nun-na – \*Barranunna oder \*pir-nun-na – \*Beranunna bleiben bei unserem Wissensstande unverbindliche Spielereien. Die Lage der betreffenden Provinz ist übrigens unbekannt, Forrer suchte sie unmittelbar südlich der jetzigen türkisch-irakischen Grenze bzw. des Flusses Hābūr östlich des Tigris zwischen ihm und dem "Weissen Berge", *Ġebel al abiad*.<sup>87</sup>

In Z. 12 kommt anscheinend noch der Name des Landes oder Berges vor, wo der Adressat die vom Absender verlangten Artikel holen soll, wenn ich die beschädigte Passage richtig verstehe. Infolge orthographischer Mehrdeutigkeit der Zeichengruppe ist mir nicht klar, ob hier ein Name \*Eriš gemeint war, dem ich sonst nicht begegnet bin.<sup>88</sup> Angesichts dieser Leseschwierigkeiten ist es doppelt verwegen zu fragen, ob \*Ašranunna, falls so zu lesen, vom Verfasser des Briefes etwa im Anklang an ašranumma, "dort", gebildet sei und ob \*Eriš, falls so zu lesen, etwa einfach *ēriš*, "ich habe verlangt", ist, eine Anspielung auf die Forderungen des Absenders.

Parallelen zu solchen Wortspielen wüsste ich nicht beizubringen, kann aber nicht glauben, dass Wortspiele dem gesprochenen Akkadisch fremd gewesen sein sollten. Eine positive Antwort auf meine Fragen würde übrigens meines Erachtens den Ausschlag zugunsten der Auffassung unseres Briefes als humoristische Arbeit geben. Bei negativer Antwort darf man fragen, ob die Ortsnamen in Z. 1 und 12(?) vielleicht fingiert sind; auch sie kann ich nicht beantworten.

Jedenfalls ergeben sie nichts für die geographische Lage des Landes unseres rätselhaften Adressaten. Das einzige, was wir unserm Briefe für seine Lokalisierung entnehmen können, ist Gilgamešs Befehl, Z. 30 f., er solle auf dem Wasser-

<sup>85</sup> Vgl. Anm. 6.

<sup>86</sup> *uru UD-nu-na* 1 R (1861), pl. 29 Z. 46; ABL 1 (1892) Nr. 43 Z. 22 (vgl. Waterman, RCA 1 [1930], S. 32). *uru UD-nu-nu*, 2 R (1866), pl. 53 Nr. 1 I(!) 11' = 38 a. *uru UD-nun-na*, s. Ungnad, "Eponymen", RIA 2 (1938), S. 430 und 431 Jahr 785; 756; für Jahr 697 vgl. Bezold, Cat. 4 (1896), S. 1930 Bu. 89, 4–26, 177; CT 26 (1909), pl. 38 VIII 20'.

<sup>87</sup> Provinzeinteilung (1921), S. 38. Auch die Zitate in der vorigen Anmerkung sind diesem Buche entnommen, s. d., S. 146 links Udnunna.

<sup>88</sup> RIA 2 (1938), S. 470 rechts, zitiert einen einmal vorkommenden Ort Eriša im/beim Kaširi-Gebirge.

wege nach Babylon kommen, den Euphrat stromab,<sup>89</sup> wonach man sich ihn irgendwo im Nordwesten von Babylonien beheimatet vorstellen könnte.

8. Hier sollte nun eine brillante Hypothese alle Daten zusammenfassen, alle Fragen beantworten, alle Rätsel lösen — aber leider kann ich nicht mit ihr aufwarten.

Man kann den Brief des Gilgameš als Produkt — ernst oder scherzhaft gemeint — einer Laune des Schreibers betrachten und enthebt sich damit jeglicher Pflicht, Sinn und Bedeutung des Werkchens zu ergründen.

Ich möchte eher vermuten, es sei die — freilich sehr eigenartige — literarische Reaktion eines assyrischen Hofschreibers auf einen politischen Zwischenfall, den ein König von Babylon verursacht hatte, indem er masslose Forderungen an den König von Assyrien stellte. Mehr als eine bloße Vermutung ist das nicht. Denn wenn der hier so oft bemühte Titel “König von Ur” etwa einen Hinweis auf die Identität des nicht bei seinem Namen genannten babylonischen Königs enthalten sollte, habe ich ihn nicht fruchtbringend für seine Identifizierung zu verwenden vermocht. Ob der antike Hörer oder Leser einen Anklang von Ašranunna, falls der Name des Landes oder der Stadt des Adressaten so zu lesen ist, an Aššur wahrnahm, kann ich nur fragen. Den Zeitpunkt des von mir erfundenen Zwischenfalls kann ich nicht angeben<sup>90</sup> und muss eingestehen, dass wir während der in § 5 für wahrscheinlich erklärten Entstehungszeit des Briefes nach unserer — freilich unzulänglichen — Kenntnis des Machtverhältnisses zwischen Babylonien und Assyrien kaum ein anmassendes Auftreten Babyloniens gegen das überlegene Assyrien annehmen dürfen, allerdings auch nicht sicher ausschliessen können.

So bleibt der Brief des Gilgameš für mich ein ungelöstes Rätsel. War er die ernstgemeinte Fingerübung eines altesopotamischen Schreibers, die nur auf uns einen komischen Eindruck macht? Oder war er vielleicht ein satyrisches Pamphlet, eine Gelegenheitsarbeit, die mit bewusster karikaturaler Persiflage bekannter literarischer Formen eine berühmte halbmythische Heldenfigur gebraucht oder missbraucht, um einen politischen Gegner in einer bestimmten Situation lächerlich zu machen oder zu diskreditieren? Oder hat es mit dem Briefe eine andere Bewandnis, die ich mangels Vergleichsmaterials oder aus persönlicher Unkenntnis oder Kurzsichtigkeit nicht habe finden können?

9. Die betreffs der Hauptsache ergebnislosen Erörterungen kann ich wenigstens hinsichtlich eines Nebenaspektes unseres Themas positiv, wie es sich für einen Festschriftbeitrag gehört, zu Ende führen.

Der Brief des Gilgameš, eine bisher einmalige und auch in der Assyriologie periphere Erscheinung, ist nach dem heutigen Stande unseres Wissens ein Erstling der Weltliteratur. Sein obskurer Verfasser hat mit ihm das seltsame Literaturgenre des fiktiven Briefes einer legendarischen Person erfunden, jenes Genre also, dessen Urhebererschaft über 1900 Jahre ein römischer Dichter für sich beansprucht

<sup>89</sup> Das besagt Z. 30 f. ungeachtet der in Anm. 37 besprochenen grammatischen Interpretationsschwierigkeit.

<sup>90</sup> Unklar ist, ob dem Datum *i tu du<sub>6</sub> u d 15. ka m* = 15.VII. = Vollmondtag des Tašrītu, Z. 32 (nur in Exemplar B erhalten), in diesem Zusammenhange eine besondere Bedeutung zukäme, eine Frage, die auch Edzard in einer Gastvorlesung in Leiden am 16.V.1979 stellte und nicht beantworten konnte. Nach der “Tagewählerei” ist der 15.VII. “entièrement favorable” und empfehlenswert für Speiseopfer für Marduk (Labat, *Hém.* (1939), S. 118 f. Z. 82–84). Die erhaltenen “Menologien” betreffend Tašrītu reichen nicht bis zum 15., vgl. *op. cit.*, S. 174–177 Z. 41–47; S. 180 f. Z. 41–45; Hulin, *Iraq* 21 (1959), S. 51–53, Z. 53–60; Labat, *Iraq* 23 (1961), S. 92 f. Der “Almanach” Matouš, *Sumer* 17 (1961), S. 38 f. Kol. VII, erwähnt den 15.VII. nicht.

hat. Es ist Publius Ovidius Naso, eines der klassischen Schreckgespenster des humanistischen Gymnasiums, aber auch das Entzücken eines vereinzelt Gymnasiasten; ein Poet, dessen "Abschied von Rom" Goethe nachgedichtet hat, aus dessen "Metamorphosen" Philemon und Baucis in den zweiten Teil des Faust übersiedelt sind — übrigens ohne dass Goethe sich davon bewusst gewesen sein dürfte, mit dem grauenerregenden Schluss, den er der idyllischen Episode gegeben hat, eine schauerhafte Perspektive auf die Zukunft geöffnet zu haben. Ovid also, leichtfüßig, leichtversüßig als Dichter, flott als Lebemann, hat sich gerühmt, mit seinen "*Epistulae*" oder "*Heroides*", Liebesbriefen von Heroinen an ihre abwesenden Geliebten, etwas Neues in die Literatur eingeführt zu haben:

*"ignotum hoc aliis ille novavit opus",*

"dieses Genre, anderen unbekannt, hat er erfunden".<sup>91</sup>

Es kann nicht meine Aufgabe sein, in Gurneys Fusstapfen zu treten und die Entwicklung des Literaturgenres zu verfolgen, das bis heute weiter lebt und zeitweise sehr populär war. Kuriositätshalber seien nur die "*Heroides*" des Helius Eobanus Hessus, eines der besten lateinischen Dichter des deutschen Humanismus, erwähnt. Hessus, 1488–1540, ein Universitätsprofessor, für Luther der "*rex poetarum*", für andere Zeitgenossen "der deutsche Ovid",<sup>92</sup> sagt von sich selbst:

*"scribimus illustres Heroidas ecce puellas:*

*has tibi praecipue dedico, Posteritas",*

"Diese 'Heroides' schreibe ich nun von erhabenen Frauen;

Nachwelt, dieses Werk eign' ich vor allem dir zu".<sup>93</sup>

Hessus' Briefe in Distichen schreibende Heldinnen sind jedoch christlich, als erste die Jungfrau Maria, die an Gottvater schreibt.

Ovid konnte nicht wissen, dass der erste fingierte Brief einer Figur aus Sage oder Dichtung schon viele Jahrhunderte vor seinen "*Epistulae*" von einem anonymen altmesopotamischen Schreiber akkadisch in Keilschrift auf eine Tontafel geschrieben worden war. Statistisch muss die Assyriologie seinen Anspruch abweisen, der Erfinder eines neuen literarischen Genres zu sein. Was jedoch Form, Inhalt und Geist betrifft, die er dem von ihm wiederentdeckten Genre verlieh, erkennt sie willig seine unbestreitbare Überlegenheit über seinen assyrischen Vorgänger an. Den Ruhm, die von dem grossen Athener Redner Lysias in die Rhetorik eingeführte Charakterzeichnung auf die Dichtung übertragen und in seinen Heroinenbriefen ebenso geistreich wie gefällig entwickelt zu haben, kann der Brief des Gilgameš dem Ovid nicht streitig machen.

[Korrektur-Zusatz 17.X.1980 zu S. 119 § 7: 119 Jahre nach Veröffentlichung des ersten Belegs für u r u UD-nu-na u. ä. macht jetzt Kessler, ZA 69 (1979), S. 219 f. 3., erschienen im Sommer 1980, Tam(a)nun(n)a/u als Form des Namens wahrscheinlich, womit der Anlass zum Vergleiche mit unserem . . ranunna entfällt.]

<sup>91</sup> *Ars amatoria* III 346.

<sup>92</sup> Nach Harry C. Schnur, Lateinische Gedichte deutscher Humanisten = Reclam Universal-Bibliothek Nr. 8739–45 (Stuttgart 1967), S. 447.

<sup>93</sup> Op. cit., S. 216 f. Z. 111 f.



## ANALOGY AND THE -AN DATIVES OF HIEROGLYPHIC LUWIAN

By ANNA MORPURGO DAVIES

1. The basic morphology of Hittite is now relatively well known – for the classical period at least; that of the minor Anatolian languages still calls for continuous reassessment whenever new data become available. The need is particularly great in the case of the languages of the Luwian group: Cuneiform Luwian, Hieroglyphic Luwian and Lycian. In what follows I shall try to collect some data which concern the nominal inflection of Hieroglyphic Luwian.<sup>1</sup> This can only be a small return for all that I owe to Oliver Gurney, to his teaching and to his unrestrainable kindness and generosity; it is good to know that I share this debt with all those who have worked in this country on the Indo-European languages of Anatolia – and with innumerable others.

2. In 1963 Hermann Mittelberger pointed out that in Hieroglyphic Luwian there were at least three examples of a dative singular in *-an*. He also suggested that one example of the same phenomenon occurred in Cuneiform Luwian, but did not offer a full explanation of this peculiar termination;<sup>2</sup> at the time, the data on which he based his observation were too scanty to warrant any further discussion. The examples he mentioned were (in our transliteration): (a) *za-à-ti-i-* 'CAELUM'-*sa-na* (DEUS) TONITRUS-*hu-ti* "to this Tarhunzas of the Sky" (see citation 9 below); (b) LITUUS. CAELUM-*na* (DEUS) TONITRUS-*ti-i* "to Tarhunzas of the Sky" (see citation 8 below); (c) *á-pa-sa-na* DOMUS-*ni-i* "on/to his house" (see citation 5 below). More tentatively he also referred to *mu-ka-sa-sa-na* DOMUS-*ní-i* "(under) Moksos' house" of KARATEPE (cf. citation 12 below). Finally he pointed out that in all instances we were dealing with *-asi-* adjectives (*tipasasi-*, *apasi-*) and that they always agreed with nouns or names in the dative singular so that the interpretation could not be disputed. The *-an* ending obviously contrasted with the expected form of dative singular: in Hieroglyphic Luwian the normal ending is *-i*; less frequent alternants are *-iya*, *-a* and *-aya*.

If the *-an* forms are not due to a scribal error, to a false reading or to a misinterpretation of the evidence, we ought to try to explain their origin. However, at the moment the first question concerns the validity of Mittelberger's observation: does Hieroglyphic Luwian have a dative singular in *-an*, and, if so, what is its distribution and to what stem classes does it belong?

3. Since 1963 the data at our disposal have considerably increased. In what follows I shall give a list, as complete as possible, of the *-an* datives I have found in the Hieroglyphic Luwian texts of the First Millennium. I have not considered the Empire texts because they still present too many problems of reading and interpretation. The conclusion is that the examples now available are not 3 but 44 or perhaps 46 and that they all belong to *-a/isi-* adjectives derived from nouns

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<sup>1</sup>For the abbreviations used see J. D. Hawkins, A. Morpurgo Davies, G. Neumann, "Hittite Hieroglyphs and Luwian: new evidence for the connection", *Nachrichten Ak. Wiss. Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl.* 1973, Nr. 6, pp. 143–97 [HHL], at p. 145 note. The transliteration follows the values tabulated in *An. St.* 25 (1975), 53–55. In preparing this paper I have been able to use Mr. Hawkins' collation of most of the Hieroglyphic texts; I am deeply indebted to him for this and for frequent and protracted discussions over all points of reading and interpretation.

<sup>2</sup>*Die Sprache* 9 (1963), 90 f.; cf. also *ibid.*, 8 (1962), 285.



(*tipasasi-* from *tipas* ‘sky’), pronouns (*apasi-* ‘his, her, its’ from *apa-* ‘he, she, it’), personal names (*muksasi-* from *muksas* ‘Moksos’), geographical names (*tunasi-* from *tuna-*). As usual, the *-a/isi-* adjectives indicate a general relationship with the noun or name from which they are derived; in the case of adjectives derived from a personal name they may have a possessive value (*Muksasan parni* ‘(under) Moksos’ house’) or may be used as patronymics (*Niyasi-* ‘Nis’ son’) – by far the most frequent use in our list – or may indicate some other form of relationship (*Kiyakisan FRATER-lai* ‘to Kiyakis’ brother’). In the case of adjectives derived from geographical names, the *-a/isi-* forms are used as ethnics and compete with the more frequent *-wani-* and *-a/iza-* adjectives.

In my list I have included two forms which end in *-Ca-sa-* (C = any consonant) and not in *-Ca-sa-na*. Both of them are followed by the enclitic *-ha* ‘and’. If *-Ca-sa-na* is to be understood as [-Casan], which seems intuitively correct, rather than as [-Casana], we expect the final nasal not to be written before an enclitic which begins with a consonant; it is possible, in other words, to read *á-pa-sa-há-* of citation 7 as *apasan-ha*, and *mu-ka-sa-sá-há-* of citation 13 as *muksasan-ha*. Some ambiguity remains, since Hier. Luwian has an *-as* genitive as well as an *-asi* genitive and an *-asi-* genitival adjective. In theory *mu-ka-sa-sá-há-* could stand for *Muksas-ha* ‘and of Muksas’. However, an alternation which occurs in the same text and in the same phrase, such as that between *mu-ka-sa-sá-há-* DOMUS-*ní-i* of KARATEPE LVIII (citation 13) and *mu-ka-sa-sa-na* DOMUS-*ní-i* of KARATEPE XXI (citation 12), seems to speak for the phonological identity of *mu-ka-sa-sa-na* and *mu-ka-sa-sá(-há-)* and at the same time gives weight to the *-san* (rather than *-sana*) interpretation of our datives.

3.1. In the First Millennium texts it is possible to identify the following *-an* datives; there may be other instances which so far have not been recognized.

(a) (*a*)*pasan* ‘his’, etc. (cf. (*a*)*pas* ‘he’, etc.)

(1) BOYBEYPINARI, Text 1, I B-C:

*à-wa/i sù-[ki-] ta-za-sá(URBS) REL-sa | AQUA.DOMINUS-sá*

*wa/i-tà pa-sa-na X-na-ti-i PONERE-wa/i-ha*

‘Who(ever) (was) the ‘River Lord’ of the city Sukiti,

I put them on/for his -NATI.’

For the text see Hawkins, *An. St.* 20 (1970), 83 ff.

(2) TELL AHMAR 1, 3:

*à-wa/i | ku-ma-na [(á-)mí-(i-)s] a' [(AVUS)] hu-ha[-?]-sa [REX-ti]-i-sá [sa-tá]-'*

*[wa/i-sa]-' pa-[sa-] na-' | (\*274)u-pa-ti-ti | DOMINUS-na-ni-i-sa sa-tá-'*

‘when [my great-] grandfather (?) [was king (?)]

he was lord to/for his UPATIT-.’

Collation, readings and restoration by Hawkins (see p. 140 ff. of this volume).

(3) IZGIN, d XVI–XIX:

*wa/i-ti-ta-' á-ta<sub>s</sub>-ma-[z]a [ . . . ]-sa [X]-X[-X]-X || VAS-tara/i-i-na (PES)*

*u-pa-i pa-sa-na-' DOMINUS-na-ni«-ri+i?» PRAE-na*

*à-wa/i pa-sa-ha<sup>2</sup>-' <sup>1</sup>á-za-mi-sa i-zi-ia-na-zi || i-zi-i-tú pa-sa-na-' DOMINUS-*

*na-ni CUM-ni*

‘For himself the name . . . (and) the image he shall bring before (?) his lord and let that Azamis too perform *rituals* for his lord.’

Collation by J. D. Hawkins. At the end of l. XVI it is not clear whether

near the DOMINUS logogram there is a *ri+i* sign, but in connection with PRAE-*na* we expect a dative rather than an ablative; if the noun were in the ablative, *pasan* ought to be an ablative too (cf. below citation 44).

The translation of *iziyananzi izitu* is tentative but is based on the parallelism with Hittite *aniur aniya-*. Instead of *iziyananzi* we might expect an *-i-* stem *\*iziyaninzi* (cf. *upanin* and *upaninzi*, from *upa-*, in CARCHEMISH A 1 a, 2 and A 11 b, 4) but the *na* sign is clear. The alternative would be a Nom.-Acc. neuter sing. ending in *-anza*, but the final sign seems to be *zi* rather than *za*.

(4) CEKKE A, 1–4:

EGO-*mi* DOMINUS.SOL||-*wa/i+ra/i-sá sa-sa-tù+ra/i-sá wà/i-sa||-mi-sa mí-ta<sub>5</sub>*  
*à-wa/i || za \*382[X]-pa<sup>2</sup>-ma-za* DOMINUS.SOL-*wa/i+ra/i-sá sa-sa-tù[+ra/i]-ia*  
 | DOMINUS-*ní á-pa-sa-na* PONERE-*tá*

“I am X-tiwaras the favoured servant of Sasturas.

And X-tiwaras put up this ]PAMANZA for Sasturas his lord.”

Collation by J. D. Hawkins; see *An. St.* 29 (1979), p. 162 fn. 63.

(5) KULULU 2, C 1–2:

| *wa/i-ru-ta || á-pa-sá-'* | (“SCALPRUM.SIGILLUM”) *sa-<sup>1</sup>sa<sup>1</sup>-za-'* | *tu-wa/i-tu-u*  
 | *á-pa-sa-na* DOMUS-*ní-i*

“let them (the gods) for (against) him set their seal on his house”.

(6) CARCHEMISH A 27 e 3, 2–3:

] (SCALPRUM) [*ku*]-*ta-sa<sub>5</sub>+ra/i-zi* | *za<sup>21</sup>-ri+i pa-sa-na* TERRA-*ta<sub>4</sub>-ti* [ . . . ]  
 || REL-*sa* MALLEUS-*i*

“] the walls *here* in/to his place [ who hammers away”

The text is too fragmentary to allow a full interpretation but TERRA-*ta<sub>4</sub>-ti* is attested elsewhere as a dative (e.g. in CARCHEMISH A 6, 4, 7; cf. Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *JRAS* 1975, 130), and *pasan* must agree with it; *zari* could be used adverbially (“here”) or could be a dative in agreement with the adjective and noun which follow: “in/to this, his place”.

(7) KARATEPE, XVI, 81–84 (Ho; Hu has the same wording):

| *á-pa-sa-há-wa/i-ta-'* | *tá-ti-i* (“THRONUS”) *i-sà-tara/i-tí-i* | (“SOLIUM”) *i-sà-nu-wá/i-há-'*

“And I caused it/them to sit upon its/their father’s throne.”

Cf. Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *An. St.* 28 (1978), 107; for the possible ambiguity of *á-pa-sa-há-* see above p. 124.

(b) Adjectives derived from nouns: *tipasasan* “of the sky” (*tipas* “sky”), *atalasan* (?) “of the brother” (*atalas* (?) “brother”), *utnisan* (?) “of the country” (*utni-* (?) “country”).

(8) BABYLON Cup 1, 1:

| *za-ia-wa/i* “SCALPRUM”(-) *ka-ti-na mí-ta<sub>5</sub>-à-sa* LITUUS.CAELUM-*na* (DEUS)  
 TONITRUS-*ti-i i-zi-i-tà*

“Midas made these KATINA for Tarhunzas of the Sky (*tipasasan*).”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup>For the transliteration LITUUS. CAELUM-*na* and in general for the value of the LITUUS logogram see Hawkins, “The logogram “LITUUS” and the verbs “to see” in Hieroglyphic Luwian”, *Kadmos* 19 (1980), 123 ff.

## (9) TELL AHMAR 1, 6:

|m[u]-pa-wa/i-' | za-'à-<sup>2</sup> ti-i-' 'CAELUM'<sup>1</sup>-sa-na [(DEUS)] TONITRUS-hu-ti  
| '("MANUS")<sup>1</sup>i-s[a-tara/i-X]-X SUP[ER+RA/I-'] | |

"But I [raised] up (my) han[d(s)] to this Tarhunzas of the Sky (*tipasasan*)."

Collation and restoration by J. D. Hawkins; cf. p. 140 ff. of the present volume.

## (10) CARCHEMISH A 4 a, 1:

ka-ma-ni-sa-pa-wa/i PRAE-ri+i-SARMA-ma-ia-' | FRATER-la-sa-na | INFANS  
(-)ni-za-' pa-pi-SARMA-sá-na-' | NEPOS CUM-ni ARHA (\*344) DARE-ta

"And Kamanis sold to Parisarmas, the brother's child (*atalasan*), Papisarmas' grandson (*Papisarmasan*)."

Readings by J. D. Hawkins.

FRATER-la-sa-na: here and elsewhere I have assumed that the word for brother is *atalas* and the genitival adjective (in the dative) *atalasan* (see Laroche, *HH* p. 32, no. 45), but a full discussion of this kinship term is still needed. For "brother's son" see TELL AHMAR 2, 8: FRATER-la-sa INFANS-ni-sá.

## (11) KURÇOĞLU, 1-2:

à-wa/i za-' CAPUT.VAS-ru-sà (DEUS)REGIO-ni-sa-na MAGNUS.FEMINA  
-sa<sub>5</sub>+ra/i-i || ARHA ("PES")u-pa-ha

"And I dedicated this statue to the divine queen of the country (*utnisan*)."

See Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2, no. 289, p. 222. The reading proposed here involves the logogram for queen instead of Meriggi's *hu-*; the sign which precedes is a clear *-na*, the final sign of the genitival adjective (dat.) REGIO-ni-sa-na (probable reading: *utnisan*). The "divine queen of the country" is also found in MEHARDE A, 2-3: (DEUS) REGIO-ni-sa | (MAGNUS.DOMINA)ha-su-sa<sub>5</sub>+ra/i-sa; ibid. B, 2-4, and C, 1-2: |(DEUS) REGIO-ni-si | (MAGNUS.DOMINA)ha-su-sa<sub>5</sub>+ra/i-sa, and in SHEIZAR, 6: (DEUS) REGIO-ni-i-si (DOMINA)ha-su-sa<sub>5</sub>+ra/i-sa. In all instances we have the Nominative *hasusara/is* preceded by the genitive REGIO-nis or REGIO-nisi; see Hawkins in *Florilegium Anatolicum. Mélanges Laroche*, Paris 1979, 145 ff., but in all passages read (DEUS) instead of \*292, following M. Kalaç in *Orientalia*, NS 34 (1965), 414; cf. also J. D. Hawkins, "Late Hittite Funerary Stelae", in *Death in Mesopotamia*, ed. B. Alster, p. 219, Copenhagen, 1980.

(c) Adjectives derived from personal names, including patronymics, "adelphonymics" and "papponymics".

## (12) KARATEPE, XXI 108-113 (Hu and Ho):

NEG<sub>2</sub>-wa/i REL-zi | SUB-na-na PUGNUS.<sup>1</sup>PUGNUS<sup>1</sup>-ta<sub>4</sub>-ta (Ho. tà-tà-ta)  
mu-ka-sa-sa-na (Ho. mu-ka-sá-sá-na) DOMUS-ní-i

"who had not lived under Muksas' house" (*Muksasan*).

For text and interpretation see J. D. Hawkins, *An. St.* 25 (1975), 132 and A. Morpurgo Davies, *KZ* 94 (1980), LI 102.

## (13) KARATEPE LVIII, 324-30 (Hu followed by Ho):

Hu: ma-pa-wa/i (\*309)pa+ra/i-na-wa/i-tu-u (LITUUS)á-za-ti-wa/i-tà-ia mu-ka-sa-sá-há-' DOMUS-ní-i (DEUS)TONITRUS-hu-ta[-ti] DEUS-na-ti-há

Ho: ma-pa-wà/i (DOMUS. "309")pa+ra/i-na-wa/i-tu<sub>4</sub> (OCULUS)á-za-ti-wà/i+ra/i-ia mu-ka-sá-sa-há (DOMUS)pa+ra/i-ní

"And much let them be in service to Azatiwatas and to Muksas' house (*Muksasan*) (by Tarhunzas and the gods)."

For text and interpretation see Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, *An. St.* 28 (1978), 113 f.,<sup>4</sup> for the value and transliteration of LITUUS and OCULUS see Hawkins, *Kadmos* 19 (1980), 123 ff. The possible ambiguity of *mu-ka-sá-sa-há* is mentioned above, p. 124.

(14) KARABURUN, 1–2:

*si-pi-sa-pa-wa/i* REX-sa REL-ti *si-pi-ia ni-ia-sa-na* MALUS-za CUM-ni *za+ra/i-ti-ti-i ni-mu-wa/i-zi ni-pa-wa/i ha-ma-si* . . .

“If King Sipis shall *contrive* evil for Sipis, Nis’ son (*Niyasan*), for (his) son, or for (his) grandson . . .”

Cf. Hawkins, *An. St.* 25 (1975), 148. See (15) below.

(15) KARABURUN, 2–3:

*si-pi-sa-pa-wa/i ni-ia-sa* REL-ti *si-pi-ia* REX-ti MALUS-za CUM-ni || *za+ra/i-ti-ti ni-mu-wa/i-zi ni-pa-wa/i ha-ma-si*

*si-pi-ia-pa-wa/i-ta ni-ia-sa-na hà+ra/i-na-wa/i-ni-sa*(URBS) (DEUS)*ku-AVIS-ia ku-ma-pi ta-wa/i* SUB-ta *á-za-tu*

“If Sipis, (the son) of Nis, shall *contrive* evil for Sipis the King, (his) son or (his) grandson,

then for Sipis, Nis’ son (*Niyasan*), let the Haranean (Moon God?) together with (??) Kubaba swallow down (his) eyes.”

Notice the contrast between *Sipis Niyas*, where the father’s name is indicated by a simple genitive, and *Sipiya Niyasan*, where an *-asi-* adjective is used as a patronymic and agrees in the dative with *Sipiya*. For the name Nis, see the KULULU strips 1, 1, 2, 3 (twice); 2, 1 (dat. <sup>1</sup>*ni-ia*); perhaps cf. also the Nom. <sup>1</sup>*na-i-sá* in KULULU strip fragment 1, 2; rev. 2.

The second clause offers numerous problems of interpretation. I follow Meriggi (*Manuale* II/1, p. 104 f.) in assuming that the god of Harran cannot be Kubaba and in referring the ethnic to the Moon God in spite of the absence of the divine determinative. I also follow Meriggi in attributing a meaning “together with” or the like to *ku-ma-pi*.

*á-za-tu* can be compared with Cun. Luwian *azza-*, the iterative of *ad-* “to eat” (cf. *HHL*, 184 f.).<sup>5</sup> If so, *tawa* (cf. also the parallel clause in line (2)) will be the object and can be compared with Cun. Luwian *da-a-u-wa* (Nom.-Acc. neuter plural) “eyes” (see Laroche, *DLL*, p. 96). We already knew from KULULU 1, 6 the full spelling *ta-wa/i-ia-na* corresponding to the logographic writing VERSUS-*wa/i-na*; Hier. *tawiyān* is obviously the same word as Cun. Luwian *dawiyān* (cf. Laroche, loc. cit.), and it is likely that the adverb is related to the word for “eye”. Given this, the presence of *tawa* “eyes” in Hieroglyphic as well as in Cuneiform Luwian does not cause surprise.

<sup>4</sup> In KARATEPE LVIII (Ho) I have transliterated with *tu*<sub>4</sub> the sign Laroche, HH., no. 230, since *tu*, *tú*, and *tù* have been reserved for Laroche, HH. nos. 89, 325 and 326 respectively and there is no clear syllabic use of Laroche HH no. 65 (Laroche’s *tù*).

<sup>5</sup> The interpretation of *aza-* does not rest only on the comparison with Cun. Luwian. Sentences such as CARCHEMISH A 6, 9:

*á-pa-pa-wa/i-*<sup>1</sup> (DEUS)*ni-ka+ra/i-wa/i-sá* CANIS-*ni-i-zi á-pa-si-na* | CAPUT-*hi-na* | ARHA EDERE-*tu*

“and let the dogs of Nikarawas eat him (and) his head.”

compare well with KULULU 1, 5:

| *á-wa/i* | *á-pa-si-na* | *ha-sa-mi-na* | *pá?* *+ra/i-ta-mi-na* | ARHA | *á-za-tu á-pa-si-ha* | *á-tara/i-i-na*

“let them (*viz.* the AMURAS of Tuwatis and the race (?) of the dogs of Kubaba) devour his accursed (?) race and his image.”

## (16) CEKKE, B 4:

DOMINUS-*ti-wa/i+ra/i-ia-pa-wa/i á-ha-li-sa-na* PRAE-*ti* \*179. \*347 4(-)*sà-pa-sá*  
1 SCALPRUM-*sa* \*33(-)*mi+ra/i-sa, +ra/i-zí* DARE-*mi-na*

“and we give before X-tiwaras, Ahalis’ son (*Ahalisan*) . . .”

The verb and the two datives are easily recognizable. For the first name cf. the nominative DOMINUS.SOL-*wa/i+ra/i-sá* in CEKKE, A 1–2; for the derived adjective *ahalisi-* cf. the basic name <sup>1</sup>*á-ha-li-ia* (dative) in CEKKE, B 3 (see J. D. Hawkins, *An. St.* 29 (1979), p. 162 note 63). The reading \*179. \*347 4 is based on Hawkins’ collation.

For DARE-*min* see A. Morpurgo Davies, *KZ* 94 (1980), 93 ff.

## (17) CARCHEMISH A 4 a, 1:

Cf. citation (10) above for the dative *Papisarmasan*, our only instance of “papponymic”.

## (18) TÜNP, 1–2:

] *ara/i-FRATER-la-ia* CUM-*ni* *sà-ta-ti-wa/i+ra/i-sa-na* (“TERRA”) *ta-sà-REL+ra/i-na* CUM-*ni* || “\*344”(-)*i-ia-sa-ta*

“they/he bought (?) the land from ]ariatalas, Santatiwaras’ son (*Santatiwarasan*)”

The clause is parallel to CEKKE B, 1–2 (cf. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2, 102):

. . . *ka-ma-na-na*(URBS) URBS+*MI-ní-na* *ka-na||-pu-wa/i-na-za*(URBS) CUM-*ni*  
“\*344”(-)*i-sa-ta á-pa-sa-ti* \*314(-)*sa-tá-na-ti*

“the city of Kamana from the Kanapuweans they bought (?) by their . . .” (see also Hawkins, *An. St.* 29 (1979), p. 161, note 59). This makes it likely that in TÜNP the first (perhaps incomplete) word is a personal name followed by a patronymic adjective in the dative. For names which have FRATER-*la-* as a second element in the compound cf. e.g. *Musatala-* in citation 21 below and <sup>1</sup>REL-*za-FRATER-la-ia* in KULULU strip 1, 2; for the word order Name – Postposition – Patronymic see the numerous examples offered by the KULULU strips (citations 19 ff. below).

Historians of Indo-European syntax will notice with interest the double occurrence of CUM-*ni* in the same clause, once as a postposition and once as a preverb, matched by the single occurrence of CUM-*ni* in the parallel sentence of CEKKE.

## (19) KULULU strip 1, 1:

100 “\*179”-*za* <sup>1</sup>*ha-pi-ia*<sup>1</sup>-*mi-ia* <sup>1</sup>|CUM <sup>1</sup>-*ni* [<sup>1</sup>X]-*ru-sa-<sup>1</sup>sá-<sup>1</sup>na* | *hu-wa/i-sá-na* (URBS)

“100 . . . with/for Hapiyamis, [X]rusis’ son ( ]*rusasan*), the Huwean (*Huwasan*).”

The KULULU lead strips have not yet been fully edited, but clear photographs are available in T. Özgüç, *Kültepe and its Vicinity in the Iron Age*, Ankara 1971 (No. 1 : pl. L; no. 2, pl. LI; no. 3 : pl. LII; fragm. 2 : plates XLVII and XLVIII, 1) together with a short commentary by E. Laroche (ibid. 115 ff.). Drawings and photographs of another fragment (fragm. 1) were published by T. Özgüç in *Anadolu* 17 (1973), figs. 5–6; pls. XII–XIII. In addition to these texts, I have also used Hawkins’ collation of strips 1 and 2.

Of the complete texts, the first is rich in -*an* datives. It is a lead strip written on both sides. It obviously deals with some sort of economic transaction and is divided into sections, most of which start with a geographical indication. In each section all clauses begin with a variable number (ranging from 7 to 400) and a

logogram with its phonetic complement. The value of the logogram is unknown, but the sign must be identified with Laroche, *HH*, no. 179. The other strips deal with sheep and do not offer much help for an interpretation. In strip 1, the logogram is followed by a personal name in the dative (sometimes two names are linked by *-ha* “and”), and by the postposition *CUM-ni*, which I have tentatively translated “with/for”. Rarely we have instead of *CUM-ni* a verb *DARE-mi-na* “we give”.<sup>6</sup> The name in the dative may be accompanied either by an *-a/isan* patronymic adjective or by an *-a/isan* ethnic adjective (which alternates with the genitive or locative or ablative of the town’s name) or by both. Neither of the two elements need be present; moreover, we sometimes find a dative noun which may perhaps indicate a professional qualification. In two instances the genitival adjective is followed by the dative *FRATER-la-i*, which seems to indicate that someone is defined as “X’s brother” rather than as “X’s son”.

Patronymics and ethnics may have the same form. It is possible to distinguish between them because the URBS determinative solves the ambiguity, but notice that in citations 38 and 41 below *Uramuwasan* and *PUGNUS-rimisan* are both preceded by the personal determinative and followed by the URBS determinative. On the other hand *Uramuwasan* is followed by URBS and not preceded by the personal determinative in citations 39 and 40; in citation 32 the genitive *Uramuwas* which follows a regular patronymic must refer to a place but has once again both the personal and the geographical determinative. In the same texts (cf. e.g. citation 38) <sup>1</sup>*Uramuwas* is clearly a personal name. Similarly *PUGNUS-rimis* is clearly attested as a personal name in strip 1, 2 and rev. 6 (citation 34 below) – and elsewhere. Presumably in all these instances the ethnic derives from a village or town name which in its turn is based on a personal name.

(20) KULULU strip 1, 1:

50 “\*179” <sup>1</sup>*hu-li-ia-ia-* | *CUM-ni* | *ku-ku-wa/i-sa-na* | *tu-na-sá*(URBS)

“50 . . . with/for Huliyas, Kukuwa/is’ son (*Kukuwasan*), of the city of Tunas.”

See citation 33 below. Cf. the dative <sup>1</sup>*ku-ku-wa/i-ia* in strip 1, 2 (twice), 3 (= citation 25 below), 6.

(21) KULULU strip 1, 2:

22 “\*179” <sup>1</sup>*tu-wa/i-ia* | *CUM-ni* <sup>1</sup>*mu-sa-FRATER-la-sá-na*

“22 . . . with/for Tuwa/is, Musatalas’ son (*Musatalasan*).”

(22) KULULU strip 1, 2:

22 “\*179” <sup>1</sup>*na-na-ia-* | *CUM-ni* <sup>1</sup>*hu-li-ia-sá-na*

“22 . . . with/for Nanas, Huliyas’ son (*Huliyasan*).”

See citation 29 below. Cf. the dative <sup>1</sup>*hu-li-ia-ia(-)* in strip 1, 1 (= citation 20), 3 (= citation 24), 4 (three times; cf. citations 30 and 31), 5 (= citation 32).

(23) KULULU strip 1,2:

60 “\*179” <sup>1</sup>*la-ia* | *CUM-ni* <sup>1</sup>*ha-ni-sa-na*

“60 . . . with/for Las, Hanis’ son (*Hanisan*).”

See citation 35 below.

<sup>6</sup>I have argued for the meaning “we give”, rather than “we gave”, in KZ 94 (1980), 93 ff. One of the reasons is that in KULULU strip 2 we find in entirely parallel contexts *pi-ia-i* “he gives”, *pi-ia-ti* “they give”, and *DARE-mi-na* “we give”.

(24) KULULU strip 1, 3:

50 “\*179” <sup>1</sup> *hu-li-ia-ia-*’ | CUM-*ni* <sup>1</sup> *i-ia+ra/i-sà-sa-na* | *pa+ra/i-ZU?-mi-na-sa* (URBS)

“50 . . . with/for Huliyas, Iyarasis’ son (*Iyarasasan*), of the city of Parzu?minas.”<sup>7</sup>

(25) KULULU strip 1, 3:

112 “\*179” <sup>1</sup> *ku-ku-wa/i-ia-*’ | CUM-*ni* <sup>1</sup> *la-lâ/i/u-wa/i-sâ-na* | *wa+ra/i-tu+ra/i-si*(URBS)

“112 . . . with/for Kukuwa/is, Lalu?wa/is’ son (*Lalu?wasan*), of the city of Waratura/is.”

See citation 26 below.

(26) KULULU strip 1, 3:

100 “\*179” <sup>1</sup> REL+*ra/i-mu-wa/i-ia-*’ | CUM-*ni* <sup>1</sup> *mu-wa/i-sâ-na* | *wa/i+ra/i-tu+ra/i-si*(URBS)

“100 . . . with/for K/Hwarimuwas, Muwas’ son (*Muwasan*), of the city of Waratura/is.”

The name Muwas (Laroche, *Noms des Hittites*, p. 122) is also found in CARCHEMISH A 4 a, 2, and occurs more frequently in compounds.

In theory *Waraturasi* could be the dative of an *-asis* adjective derived from *Waratura-*. If so, it would be a unique example of *-i* dative of *-asis* forms; consequently I have preferred to take it as a genitive.

(27) KULULU strip 1, rev. 4:

10 “\*179”-*za* | *za+ra/i-wa/i-ia-za-mu-wa/i-ia-*’ | CUM-*ni* <sup>1</sup> *ki-ia-ki-sâ-na* | FRATER-*la-i* | *hu<sub>x</sub>+ra/i-na-li* | *â-na-tara/i* | *tu-na-sa*(URBS)

“10 . . . with/for Zarawiyazamuwas, Kiyakiyas’ brother (*Kiyakisan*), the hunter (?), of lower Tunas.”

I have treated *za+ra/i-wa/i-ia-za-mu-wa/i-ia-*’ as one word rather than two, because there is no (preserved?) word divider, no personal determinative, and no connective; it is possible that we are dealing with two words both in the dative: *zarawiyaza Muwaya*.

The Nominative *Kiyakiyas* is probably attested in TOPADA, 2 (see Hawkins, *An. St.* 29 (1979), p. 165 f.) and the dative *Kiyakiyaya* is found in AKSARAY, 4 (cf. Mustafa Kalaç, *KZ* 92 (1978), 117 ff.).

FRATER-*la-i*, presumably *atalai* (see note after citation 10), also occurs below (citation 30); the two forms are rare examples of *-a-i* (rather than *-a* or *-a-ia*) datives of *-a-* stems; contrast e.g. the compound <sup>1</sup>REL-*za*-FRATER-*la-ia(-ha)* of KULULU strip 2, 2, but cf. *mī-ta<sub>5</sub>-i* of SULTANHAN, 4.

*hu<sub>x</sub>+ra/i-na-li* may be compared with 2 *hu<sub>x</sub>+ra/i-na-la-za* in KULULU strip 2, rev. 3, which must be a dative plural. Mustafa Kalaç (*KZ* 92 (1978), 121 ff.) has established the value of the first sign (Laroche, *HH*, no. 347) and has compared the word with Hitt. *ḫurna-* “to hunt”.

For Lower and Upper Tunas cf. Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins in *Studia mediterranea P. Meriggi*, forthcoming. In this text 1.1 and 1.2 SUPER+*RA/I-sa tu-na-sa* (URBS) and *â-na-tara/i-sâ-*’ *tu-na-sa*(URBS) show the adjectives *sar(r)lis* and *ana(n)taris* which agree with the name of the town; here it is surprising not to find an ending for the adjective, but the same phenomenon occurs in rev., 6: SUPER+*RA/I-li tu-na-sa*.

<sup>7</sup>I have transcribed with *ZU?* the sign Laroche, *HH*, no. 462. This value is established for an Empire sign of similar shape, but so far we have no clear evidence for the value of the First Millennium sign.

(28) KULULU strip 1, rev. 4:

10 “\*179”-za [ ]<sup>1</sup>ru-wa/i-ti-ia | DARE-mi-na <sup>1</sup>á-pa-ni-sa-na u-ha-zi+ra/i-sá (URBS)

“10 . . . we give to Ruwatis, Apanis’ son (*Apanisan*), of the city of Uhaziras.”

(29) KULULU strip 1, rev. 4:

40 “\*179” <sup>1</sup>nu-nu-ia | CUM-ni <sup>1</sup>hu-li-ia-sá-na-’ | ta-sà-ku-sa-na (URBS)

“40 . . . with/for Nunus, Huliyas’ son (*Huliyasan*), the Tas(a)kuwean (*Tas(a)kusan*).”

For the patronymic adjective see above citation 22. The -san ethnic adjectives are collected in citations 37 ff.

(30) KULULU strip 1, rev. 4:

50 “\*179” <sup>1</sup>h[u]-li-ia-ia | CUM-ni <sup>1</sup>na-ni-mu-ta-sa-na ta-pa-ia (URBS)

“50 . . . with/for Huliyas, Nanimuta/is’ son (*Nanimutasan*), in the city of Tapas.”

(31) KULULU strip 1, rev. 4:

50 “\*179” [ ]<sup>1</sup>hu-li-ia-ia | CUM-ni <sup>1</sup>TONITRUS-hu-na-za-sá-na | FRATER-la-i

“50 . . . with/for Huliyas, Tarhunazas’ brother (*Tarhunazasan*).”

Cf. the Dat. <sup>1</sup>TONITRUS-hu-na-za-ia in this text 11. 1, 2, rev. 4. The name Tarhunazas is also attested outside the KULULU strips; cf. the Nom. TONITRUS-hu-na-(LITUUS)á-za-sá in BULKARMADEN, 1, and the dative plural of the -asi-adjective *ibid.*, 4: TONITRUS-hu-na-(LITUUS)á-za-sa-za-’. The name is obviously a compound of the name of the Storm God and the verb “to love” (cf. *HHL*, 186). It is interesting to find here a spelling -na-za- rather than -na-(LITUUS)á-za-; this proves what was suggested in *HHL*, viz. that the LITUUS has no consonantal value, and consequently brings further support to the reading of *HH*, no. 377 as *za* rather than  $\dagger \bar{t}$  (cf. the equivalence Phoenician *’ztwd*, Hier. (LITUUS)á-\*377-ti-wa/i-ta-). For further conclusions about the LITUUS see now Hawkins, “The logogram “LITUUS” and the verbs “to see” in Hieroglyphic Luwian”, *Kadmos* 19 (1980), 123 ff.

For FRATER-la-i see above citation 27.

(32) KULULU strip 1, rev. 5:

[ . ] “\*179”-za [ ]<sup>1</sup>hu-li-ia-ia | CUM-ni <sup>1</sup>su-na-ti-ia-mi-sa-na | MAGNUS+RA/I-mu-wa/i-sa (URBS)

“ . . . with/for Huliyas, Sunatiyamis’ son (*Sunatiyamisan*), of the city of Uramuwas.”

(33) KULULU strip 1, rev. 6:

20 “\*179”-za <sup>1</sup>nu-nu-ia | CUM-ni <sup>1</sup>ku-ku-wa/i-sá-na | tu-na-sá (URBS)

“20 . . . with/for Nunus, Kukuwa/is’ son (*Kukuwasan*), of Tunas.”

For the patronymic adjective see citation 20 above.

(34) KULULU strip 1, rev. 6:

10 “\*179”-za <sup>1</sup>za+ra/i-ma-ia-ni-ia | CUM-ni <sup>1</sup>PUGNUS-ri+i-mi-sá-na

“10 . . . with/for Zaramayanis, . . . rimis’ son (*PUGNUS-rimisan*).”

Here we may have a double name *Zar(a)maya* (dat.) *Niya* (dat.) (cf. *Ni-ia* in strip 1, 1, 2, 3 [twice], strip 2, 1).

The name PUGNUS-ri+i-mi-sa (obviously connected with the verb PUGNUS-ri+i-) occurs in CEKKE B, 6, 9 (cf. also G. Neumann, *KZ* 92 (1978), 128 f.); in the KULULU strips cf. the dative PUGNUS-ri+i-mi-ia in strip 1, 2 and see citation 41 below for the ethnic adjective identical to the patronymic attested here; cf. also Hawkins in this periodical, p. 156.



- (35) KULULU strip 1, rev. 6:  
 10 “\*179”-za <sup>1</sup>la-ia | CUM-ni <sup>1</sup>ha-ni-sa-na  
 “10 . . . with/for Las, Hanis’ son (*Hanisan*).”  
 See citation 23 above.
- (36) KULULU strip 1, rev. 6:  
 20 “\*179”-za <sup>1</sup>TONITRUS-hu-na-za-ia | CUM-ni <sup>1</sup>ta-ta-sa-na  
 “20 . . . with/for Tarhunazas, Tatas’ son (*Tatasan*).”  
 For Tarhunazas see above citation 31. A dat. <sup>1</sup>ta-ta-ia is attested in strip 1, rev. 5.

(d) Ethnic adjectives.

- (37) Cf. citation 19: hu-wa/i-sá-na(URBS)
- (38) KULULU strip 1, 1:  
 100 “\*179” <sup>1</sup>MAGNUS+RA/I-mu-wa/i-ia | CUM-ni <sup>1</sup>MAGNUS+RA/I-mu-wa/i-sá-na(URBS)  
 “100 . . . with/for Uramuwas, the Uramuwean (*Uramuwasan*).”  
 For the ethnic, obviously related to the personal name Uramuwas, also attested in this passage, see above p. 129, and cf. below citations 39 and 40. The genitive MAGNUS+RA/I-mu-wa/i-sá(URBS) occurs in strip 1, 1 and rev. 5.
- (39) KULULU strip 1, 1:  
 100 “\*179” <sup>1</sup>REL-sà-i-ia | CUM-ni | MAGNUS+RA/I-mu-wa/i-sá-na(URBS)  
 “100 . . . with/for K/Hwisas, the Uramuwean (*Uramuwasan*).”  
 See above citation 38 and below citation 40.
- (40) KULULU strip 1, rev. 4:  
 10 “\*179”-za <sup>1</sup>tu-wa/i-ni-ia | CUM-ni | MAGNUS+RA/I-mu-wa/i-sá-na(URBS)  
 “10 . . . with/for Tuwanis, the Uramuwean (*Uramuwasan*).”  
 See citations 38 and 39 above.
- (41) KULULU strip 1, 3:  
 20 [“] \*179[“] <sup>1</sup>nu-i[a] | CUM <sup>1</sup>PUGNUS-ri+i-mi-sa-na(URBS)  
 “20 . . . with/for Nus, the -rimian (*-rimisan*).”  
 For the personal name PUGNUS-rimis see above citation 34; for the identity of patronymic adjective and ethnic see above p. 129 and cf. *Uramuwasan* of citations 38, 39, and 40.
- (42) Cf. citation 29: ta-sà-ku-sa-na(URBS)
- (43) KULULU strip 1, rev. 6:  
 80 “\*179” | tu-na-sa-na(URBS) | á-na-ia | DARE-mi-na  
 “We give 80 . . . to the ANA, the Tunean (*Tunasan*).”  
 The word order is unexpected, but there is little doubt that *Tunasan* is an ethnic (cf. the basic name *Tuna-*, e.g. in citations 27 and 33); á-na-ia is not preceded by the personal determinative but by the word divider, which points to a common noun. Yet, we expect a reference to an individual. A dative <sup>1</sup>á-na-ia is attested in CARCHEMISH A 11 a, 5 and A 11 c, 6 as the name of Katuwas’ wife — but it is difficult to see whether this is relevant here. J. D. Hawkins suggests that *tunasan anaya* means “to the mother of Tunas”. However, because of Cun. Luwian *anni-* we would expect the word for “mother” to be an -i- stem, which would then give a dative \*á-ni-ia or \*á-ni.

(e) Two difficult instances of *pasan*.

(44) CARCHEMISH A 1 a, 3:

- (i) *ARHA-pa-wa/i REL-i PES-wa/i-i-ha-'*
- (ii) *wa/i-mu-' za-à-zi DEUS-ni-zi | ta-ni-mi-zi | CUM-ni ARHA PES-wa/i-ta*
- (iii) *wa/i-ta-' REL-i-ha pa-sa-na-' "PODIUM"-ta-ti PRAE-i | \*464(-)sù-ni-ha*
- (iv) *REL-i-ha-wa/i-ta pa-sa-na-' | "PODIUM"-ta-ti PRAE-i | \*464(-)sù-ni-ha*

J. D. Hawkins, to whom we owe a full edition of this text (*An. St.* 22 (1972), 87 ff.), tentatively translates:

- (i) "When I came forth,
- (ii) these gods all came forth with me.
- (iii) Sometimes I --ed (the image??) of one from the podium,
- (iv) and sometimes I --ed (the image??) of another from the podium."

The translation of (iii) and (iv) is determined by the need to treat "PODIUM"-*ta-ti* as an ablative in contrast with the dative ("PODIUM")*hu-ma-ti* of CARCHEMISH A 11 b, 6. Yet it involves three assumptions which it is difficult to accept. First, *REL-i-ha* is taken as meaning "sometimes", for which we have no evidence; secondly, *pasan* is taken as an accusative of (*a*)*pasis* (at the time the transliteration did not distinguish *sa* from *si*); thirdly, an object with which *pasan* agrees, is understood. The second point is the most tiresome. All accusatives singular (common gender) of *-a/isis* adjectives end in *-in*. The one exception occurs in TOPADA 8 (*â-pa-sa-na*), but the spelling of that inscription is so freakish that it cannot be given much weight.<sup>8</sup>

It is difficult to separate *pasan* from "PODIUM"-*ta-ti*; the latter *could* be a dative if we thought of an *-att-* or *-ant-* extension of *hum(a)ti*, but at present we have no evidence for such a form. The alternative is that *pasan* is ablative in function; it could be argued that this double use matches the double use (Dat. and Abl.) of (*a*)*pati*. This too cannot be supported by any other evidence (but cf. above citation 3). The problem is not solved by the presence of *PRAE-i*, though it is normally stated that this postposition is construed with the ablative; here *PRAE-i* could be a preverb. Yet another problem is caused by *REL-i-ha*; the obvious suggestion is that this is a conjunction with the meaning "whenever", but conceivably it could be taken as an indefinite pronoun Acc. sing., though it is not clear how this would contribute to our understanding of the clauses. Finally, an object for the verb could be found in *-ata* "them" which is found after *-wa-*, but it would also be possible to recognize here Hier. *-ta*, the equivalent of Hitt. *-kan*.

In view of all these uncertainties no obvious translation offers itself. Very tentatively I suggest, more than a translation, a possible construction:

- (i) When I came forth,
- (ii) these gods all came forth with/for me,
- (iii) whenever I --ed them on/from the podium of one,
- (iv) (and) whenever I --ed them on/from the podium of another."

We know that (*a*)*pas* . . . (*a*)*pas* may mean "one . . . the other"; presumably the same property applies to the genitival adjective (*a*)*pasi-*. A further doubt remains in addition to those mentioned above. Instead of translating "whenever . . . and whenever . . ." it may be possible to translate "whenever . . . then . . .". Much remains to be done for the interpretation of the Hieroglyphic Luwian

<sup>8</sup>Moreover in TOPADA itself we find (line 3) a form *â-pa<sub>x</sub>-st-na* which is the expected accusative (cf. for the reading Hawkins, *An. St.*, 25 (1975), 127).

relatives and indefinites, but it is not inconceivable that two relative or indefinite conjunctions or pronouns in adjacent clauses may call for this type of translation; the second relative could “pick up” the first, acquiring a quasi-demonstrative value. This is at least possible in e.g. SULTANHAN 3 and in BOHÇA 3–4. The suggestion, if confirmed, could provide a historical explanation for the purely connective usage of the initial relative (REL-, REL-*i*-) discussed in *An. St.* 28 (1978), 113 à propos of KARATEPE.

4. From the list in 3.1. it emerges that all instances of *-an* datives belong to *-a/isis* adjectives; to my knowledge, there is no instance of *-an* dative for other noun or adjective types and there is no instance of *-i* or *-ia* dative for the *-a/isis* adjectives (see citation 26 above).<sup>9</sup>

The position of Cuneiform Luwian is ambiguous. Mittelberger (loc. cit.) pointed out that there is an example of *-an* dative from an *-assis* adjective and that this alternates with an *-a* dative: cf. *immaraššan* <sup>d</sup>IM-*ti* (*KUB XXXV 54 II 37*) and *imrašša* <sup>d</sup>IM-*unti* (ibid. 35). This is correct, but unfortunately the evidence is limited, nor do we have other data for the dative singular of the *-aššiš* adjectives of Cuneiform Luwian. Forms such as SISKUR.SISKUR-*aššan*za EN-*ya* or *malhaššaššan* EN-*ya*, also quoted by Mittelberger, are no clearer and no better attested now than they were then. The point is troublesome but serves to make clear that, since the Cuneiform data are uncertain, we must concentrate on the Hieroglyphic evidence.

5. It is unlikely that the *-an* datives are archaic forms. If this were so we might expect to find them in nominal forms other than the *-a/isis* adjectives. Moreover, if so, we would expect to find larger number of certain *-an* datives in Cun. Luwian. Finally, no comparative evidence points to an *-an* ending of dative singular. Hittite had some *-an* forms but these were originally genitive plurals; later they came to be used as singular forms, but it is not clear why they should appear here as dative singular. Lydian has an *-a* ending of Gen.-Dat.-Loc. plural, but this too must have the same origin as Hittite *-an*. All in all it seems that we are dealing with an innovation which must be explained within the Luwian group.

5.1. The *-i*- stems of Hieroglyphic Luwian, to which the *-a/isis* adjectives belong, have a relatively well documented inflection. The main forms were most recently listed and exemplified in *HHL*, 169 ff. (cf. also Meriggi, *Manuale* I, 31 ff.). It may be convenient to give here a list of the terminations:

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<sup>9</sup>It is worth noticing that we do have an *-asi* form which is certainly a Dative singular in KÖRKÜN, A 3–4:

*na-na-si-pa-wa/i-ta* INFANS-*ni* REL-*sa* ARHA *tà-i*

“who takes it away from Nanasi, (or) the child”

and ibid., B–C:

*za-pa-wa/i-tu-ta* (VINUM)*wa/i-ni-na* REL-*sa* ARHA *la-i na-na-si* INFANS-*na-ni* (NEPOS)*ha-ma-si* (NEPOS)*ha-ma-su-ka-la*

“who takes away this vine from her, from Nanasis, (or) the child, (or) the grandchild, (or) the greatgrandchild . . .”

(For the readings see A. Morpurgo Davies and J. D. Hawkins in *Studia Mediterranea P. Meriggi octuagenario*, forthcoming.)

Nanasis is a personal name and synchronically speaking is *not* a genitival adjective, even if it is likely that it originated in this manner.

Common Gender		Singular		Plural
	Nom.	<i>-is</i>		<i>-inzi</i>
	Acc.	<i>-in</i>		<i>-inzi</i>
	Gen.	<i>-asi, -isi, is</i>	→	?
	Dat.	<i>-i, -iya</i>		<i>-anza, -inza</i>
	Abl.Instr.		<i>-ati, -iti</i>	
	Gen. Adj.		<i>-asi-, -isi-</i>	

The neuter has a Nom.-Acc. sing. in *-an-za* and a Nom.-Acc. plur. in *-a*.

The same terminations, obviously without the *-i-* of the stem, occur in the other inflectional types; in the *-a-* stems *-i-* is replaced by *-a-*; we do not know much about the consonantal stems, though we have good evidence for an *-as* Gen. and an *-an* Accusative singular.

5.1.1. It is likely that the contrast between the *-asi* and *-isi*, *-ati* and *-iti*, *-anza* and *-inza* terminations of the so-called *i*-stems is due to a difference in stem-type and/or to a replacement of the original endings with newly created analogical formations.<sup>10</sup> Here it would be premature to discuss the matter in detail, but, since the problem exists and may be relevant to the explanation of the *-an* datives, it is worthwhile to consider what data we have about the inflection of the *-a/isi-* adjectives as such. For this purpose we can ignore the contrast between *-asi-* and *-isi-*, i.e. between the two derivational suffixes, since our concern is only with the inflectional endings of the adjective and not with the formation of the suffix. The attested forms are as follows:

Common Gender	Singular			Plural	
	Nom.	-sis		-sinzi	
	Acc.	-sin		-sinzi	
	Dat.	-san		-sanza	
	Abl.Instr.		-sati		

In the neuter the Nom.-Acc. sing. ends in *-san-za* and the Nom.-Acc. plur. in *-sa*. As expected there are no genitive forms.

The evidence is not very large, but it is striking that, as far as we know, these adjectives do not show the *-iti/-ati*, *-inza/-anza* alternations which we have noticed in the *-i-* stems in general.

5.2. We must now ask two questions. First, if *-an* is an innovation, why is it limited to the *-a/isi-* adjectives? Secondly, if *-an* is an innovation, what is its origin?

5.2.1. The normal dative of the *-i-* stems in Hier. Luwian ends in *-i* or *-iya*; the consonantal stems, as far as we can judge, also had an *-i* dative, and the *-a-* stems oscillated between *-a* and *-aya* forms (for the rare *-a-i* see above p. 130).<sup>11</sup> The two demonstrative pronouns *zas* and *apas* had special dative forms identical to the Abl.-Instrumental: *zati* and *apati*. There is little doubt that the *-i* ending

<sup>10</sup> Sometimes *-i-* may arise from contraction; this must be the case for instance of an *-isi-* adjective such as *Kiyakisi-* from *Kiyakiya-* (see above citation 27).

<sup>11</sup> There are also a few instances of *-a* "datives" from *-i-* stems, but these deserve a separate study.

is inherited and that *-ya* is also old. The problem is somewhat more obscure for the *-ti* forms of the pronouns but need not concern us here. More important is that the normal dative endings are unambiguous since (a) they are immediately recognizable as dative endings and are well differentiated from the other case forms; (b) are such that, given a certain nominative, we can predict the dative and vice-versa. Yet the position of the *-a/isi-* adjectives is somewhat peculiar. For an adjective like *apasis* 'his', we might expect a dative singular *\*apasi*, but this would have been homonymous with the genitive singular of *apas* 'he', viz. the attested form *apasi*. <sup>1</sup>*mu-wa/i-ta-li-si* is attested as the genitive of Muwatalis, but is also the expected form for the dative singular of the genitival adjective derived from the name. Yet, Luwian tends to treat the genitival adjectives as independent formations, well differentiated from the forms of the noun or name from which they derive, and endowed with an inflection of their own. This ambiguity of the expected *\*-a/isi* datives may well have been responsible for the need for a new dative ending and may have triggered off an analogical process which led to the creation of the *-an* datives. If so, it would be understandable that the innovation was limited to the *-a/isi-* adjectives and was not extended to other formations where the existing dative created no problems.

5.2.2. Where does the *-an* dative singular originate? There are other *-an* endings in Hieroglyphic Luwian; the accusative singular of the *-a-* stems and the consonantal stems ends in *-an*; the neuter Nom.-Acc. sing. ends in *-an*, to which a *-za* element is added. Yet none of these forms is functionally similar to the dative.

To explain the *-an* datives it is best to concentrate again on the inflation of the adjectives to which they belong. In its original form this must have been:

		Singular	Plural
Common Gender	Nom.	<i>-sis</i>	<i>-sinzi</i>
	Acc.	<i>-sin</i>	<i>-sinzi</i>
	Dat.	<i>*-si</i>	<i>-sanza</i>
	Abl.Instr.		<i>-sati</i>

We have seen that the Dative sing. needed replacement. An analogical proportion such as:

$$\text{Acc. pl. } -sinzi : \text{Acc. sg. } -sin = \text{Dat. pl. } -sanza : \text{Dat. sg. } X$$

may give some indication of the process which led to the creation of the *-san* Dative singular. The new form was unambiguous and could not be confused with other case endings since in the adjectives the accusative singular always ends in *-sin*<sup>12</sup> and the Nom.-Acc. singular neuter in *-san-za*.

If this is so, it also becomes clear why the innovation was not extended to other inflectional types. First, we have seen that the need was not there. Secondly, the conditions for the innovation did not exist in all types of inflection; some of the *-i-* stems had an *-inza* and not an *-anza* dative plural; the *-a-* stems and the consonantal stems had an *-an* and not an *-in* accusative singular. Also, in the *-a-* stems and the consonantal stems an *-an* dative would have been homonymous with the *-an* accusative. We should not be surprised if in future we were to find sporadic traces of an abortive innovation which aimed at introducing the *-an*

<sup>12</sup>For TOPADA see above p. 133 and note 8.

dative in some *-i-* stems, but the chances are that, even if the innovation started to spread from the genitival adjectives, it stopped relatively early for the reasons indicated.

5.3. Does this explanation fit the Cun. Luwian facts? A definite answer is not possible because we do not know for certain what the facts are. There is little evidence for an *-an* dative and we do not know much about the rest of the Luwian inflection. It is still disputed whether there was an independent genitive. Yet, on the assumption that the one example is significant, the question may still be asked. The answer is positive, even though it calls for a slightly different proportion:

Acc. pl. *-sinza* : Acc. sing. *-sin* = Dat. pl. *\*-sanza* : Dat. sing. X

In Hier. Luwian the Acc. plural ends like the Nominative plural in *-nzi*; in Cun. Luwian the Nom. plural ends in *-nzi*, but we have little evidence for a *-nzi* Accusative. The normal Acc. ending seems to be *-nza* (*-inza* in the *-i-* stems). There is no clear evidence for an *\*-asanza* dative plural but this can be postulated with confidence since, (a) the dative of the *-i-* stems ends in *-anza* (*maššananza* ‘to the gods’ from *maššani-*), (b) the numerous forms of Ablative-Instrumental which end in *-aššanzati* (*hirutaššanzati* etc.) confirm the presence of *-anza-* forms in the paradigm.

The conclusion is that, if Cuneiform Luwian had an *-an* form of dative singular, this could have arisen in the same manner as it did in Hieroglyphic Luwian; any further statement or speculation is premature in the absence of the basic data.

6. A final summary is now in order. At some stage Hieroglyphic Luwian (perhaps preceded – independently or not – by Cuneiform Luwian) created a new *-an* ending for the dative singular of a restricted class of adjectives, the genitival adjectives in *-a/isi-*. The innovation must have been prompted by the need to avoid ambiguity between the inflected forms of the adjectives and the *-a/isi* genitive of the nouns from which the adjectives derived. The symmetrical relationship between the Accusative singular and the Accusative plural (*-a/isin* and *-a/isinzi* respectively) was extended to the Dative singular and plural so that near the Dative plural *-a/isanza* a new Dative singular *-a/isan* was created. This can be stated in the form of an analogical proportion:

Acc. pl. *-sinzi* : Acc. sing. *-sin* = Dat. pl. *-sanza* : Dat. sing. *-san*

The final result is the creation of a new morph for the dative singular. For anyone concerned with the theory of analogical change, the analogical creation of a new morph is uniquely interesting in that it does not fit within the traditional definition of analogy as a process of redistribution of co-allomorphs. In the particular case we have considered the explanation proposed is best stated in terms of an analogical proportion, as is often the case when new morphs are created. Once again we are pushed by this small bit of exotic evidence to ask why analogical proportions, which seem to be a naive and almost primitive device, for which no successful attempt at formalization has ever been made, are in fact such a powerful means of accounting for some types of linguistic change.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup>For other examples of proportional analogy, for the history of proportions, and for some general statements see A. Morpurgo Davies, *Studies . . . L. R. Palmer*, Innsbruck 1976, 181–97; *Étrennes . . . M. Lejeune*, Paris 1978, 157–66; *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1978, 36–60.



# THE "AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF ARIYAHINAS'S SON": AN EDITION OF THE HIEROGLYPHIC LUWIAN STELAE *TELL AHMAR 1* AND *ALEPPO 2*

By J. D. HAWKINS

I am very happy to be able to offer to Oliver Gurney, to whom I owe many years of generous and unstinted teaching, advice and support, a token Hieroglyphic repayment for my Cuneiform debt to him.<sup>1</sup> I only trust that this contribution of mine to this journal, being the first which has not had the benefit of his careful scholarship and judicious criticism, will not fall below his high standards.

Of the two large stelae found at Tell Ahmar (the ancient Til-Barsip),<sup>2</sup> the mutilated *TELL AHMAR 2*, now in the Louvre, names as its author a certain king Hamiyatas, who presumably ruled the city Til-Barsip and its surrounding territory, although his and his kingdom's titles have been carried away by the damage to the stele.<sup>3</sup> In the remains of his genealogy, Hamiyatas names Masuwarazas,<sup>4</sup> perhaps his father, but perhaps grandfather or even earlier forebear.<sup>5</sup> The broken stele *TELL AHMAR 1*, a new edition of which is here presented,<sup>6</sup> has lost the name, office and titles of the author and preserves only his genealogy, "Hapatilas's great-grandson, the ruler Ariyahinas's son"<sup>7</sup> (by which patronymic he must be named by us).<sup>8</sup> The text of this stele subsequently names a Hamiyatas, not, as has been usually supposed, as the son of the author,<sup>9</sup> but as the son of someone else,

<sup>1</sup> The abbreviations used in this article are as noted in J. D. Hawkins, A. Morpurgo Davies and G. Neumann, "Hittite Hieroglyphs and Luwian: new evidence for the connection" (*Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, Nr. 6, 1973), preliminary note on p. [3] (and this article abbreviated *HHL*). The system of transliteration employed is as tabulated in *An. St.* 25 (1975), 153–155; note also additional transcriptions of logograms into Latin, *BESTIA*, *CAPERE*, *CENTUM*, *FILLA*, *PURUS*, as listed in *KZ* 92 (1978), 116; *Florilegium Anatolicum* (Paris, 1979), 156; *Studia Mediterranea P. Meriggi Octuagenario* (hereafter *Studia . . . Meriggi*; Pavia, forthcoming); also *FORTIS* (*HH*, no. 28); *IUDEx* (*HH*, no. 371); *FLAMMAE*(?) (*HH*, no. 477); *MALUS*<sub>1</sub> (*Glossar*<sub>2</sub>, no. 9.3); *MALUS*<sub>2</sub> (*Glossar*<sub>2</sub>, no. 405a–b); *REL*<sub>2</sub> (*Glossar*<sub>2</sub>, no. 161). Note also that in the transliteration the symbol || with a number in the margin is used to mark the line division in the texts.

This article, like its predecessors, owes much to the collaboration and timely criticism of Professor Anna Morpurgo Davies, for which I am most grateful.

The two stelae forming the subject of this study (*TELL AHMAR 1* and *ALEPPO 2*) are now located in Aleppo Museum, and my thanks are due to the Direction Générale des Antiquités et des Musées, Damascus, and to its Director General, Dr. Afif Bahnassi, for permission to study them, and to the staff of the Museum for their assistance and courtesy while I was working there.

<sup>2</sup> Both were found on the surface out of archaeological context: F. Thureau-Dangin (and M. Dunand), *Til-Barsib* (Paris, 1936), 134 ff.

<sup>3</sup> A recent examination of the historical background of the *TELL AHMAR* stelae, together with comprehensive bibliographical references, has been presented by D. Ussishkin, "Was Bit-Adini a Neo-Hittite or Aramean state?" (*Or. NS* 40 (1971), 431–437). The most recent edition of the text of *TELL AHMAR 2* is that of P. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (Rome, 1975), no. 281, to which M. Poetto, "Una revisione dell' iscrizione luwio-geroglifica di Til-Barsip II" (*Or. Ant.* 17 (1978), 279–285), adds notes on collations and some useful photographs.

<sup>4</sup> For this name, my collation agrees with that of Poetto, loc. cit., 279 f.: read *ma-su-wa/i+ra/i-za-s[a]* (or possibly *ma-su-za-wa/i+ra/i-s[a]*).

<sup>5</sup> Ussishkin, loc. cit., 432 f., reports the doubts on the relationship, which are occasioned by a comparison with *TELL AHMAR 1*, l. 1, where the genealogy includes only the great-grandfather and father, in that order—cf. footnote 7.

<sup>6</sup> The earlier editions are: (i) Meriggi, *RHA* III/18 (1935), 51–57 with pls. 1–2; (ii) Hrozný, *IHH* III, 465–480; (iii) Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2, no. 280.

<sup>7</sup> For a consideration of this genealogy, and the reading of the father's name, see below, note on *TELL AHMAR 1*, § 1.

<sup>8</sup> This of course follows the Hier. Luwian practice, in which the patronym is expressed by a genitive dependent upon, or genitival adjective in agreement with, the *nomen*; thus our hero would indeed have been known as [PN] 'ariyahinas(is)—cf. *An. St.* 25 (1975), 148.

<sup>9</sup> The idea goes back to Hrozný, *IHH* III, 474, 480, 489; cf. recently Orthmann, *Untersuchungen zur späteth. Kunst* (Bonn, 1971), 183—corrected by Hawkins, *ZA* NF 63 (1973–4), 308. See the edition below, §§ 11–13.



in a context which makes it clear that he ruled prior to the reign of Ariyahinas's son. It is of course extremely probable that the name Hamiyatas refers to the same individual in both cases, and the historical context as drawn below from the two stelae would seem to support this.<sup>10</sup>

A further occurrence of the name Hamiyatas is found on the small stele of completely unknown provenance, named from its present whereabouts ALEPPO 2.<sup>11</sup> Here Hamiyatas is described as the "lord and brother" of the author Arpas.<sup>12</sup> If Hamiyatas here too refers to the same individual, which is possible but not demonstrable, then the ALEPPO 2 stele must belong with the sculpture and inscriptions of Tell Ahmar, which is not contradicted by the style and the palaeography of the piece.<sup>13</sup>

The surviving clauses of TELL AHMAR 2 consist of typically formulaic expressions of dedication and curse, with little that can be identified as historical information.<sup>14</sup> TELL AHMAR 1 on the other hand, in spite of the damage which it has sustained, can be seen to have contained a dynastic narrative, comparable to that written by Bar-Rakib of Sam'al for his father Panammu II.<sup>15</sup> This narrative presumably led up to the accession to the throne of Ariyahinas's son, though a direct statement of this is not preserved, and is in its brief way curiously reminiscent of the narrative composed for Hattusilis III, his so-called "Autobiography", whence the title of this article. To this narrative, ALEPPO 2, if indeed it may be linked by the Hamiyatas reference, would add an interesting footnote. It is the purpose of this paper therefore to present new texts, transliterations and translations, with explanatory notes, of TELL AHMAR 1 and ALEPPO 2, on the basis of which the historical information contained thereon may be reviewed.

## TELL AHMAR 1

*Transliteration* (Fig. 1, p. 144).

- (1) § 1. [EGO . . . PN, *titles*, . . . -s] á-ia-mi-i-sá REGIO | REX-ti-i-sa <sup>1</sup>ha-pa-ti-la-si-i-sa | (NEPO[S] *ha-ma-su-k*)a-[L]a-[sa] <sup>1</sup>ara/i-ia-hi-na-si-i-sa | ("IUDEX")*tara/i-wa/i-ni-sa* | (INFANS)*ni-mu-wa/i-i-za-sa*
- § 2. *wa/i-mu-'(-)ia* | á-ta<sub>5</sub>-na | INFANS(-)*ni-wa/i-à-ra/i-\**282 | "CAELUM"-*si-i-sa* ||
- (2) (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-sa* (DEUS)*i-ia-sa* | REX-ti-i-sá (DEUS)BONUS(-)*ku-pá<sup>2</sup>+ra/i-ma-sa<sub>5</sub>* | (DEUS)"\*454"(-)*ma-ti-lá/i-sa* (DEUS)FORTIS-*su-pa-sa* | *ha+ra/i-na-wa/i-ni-i-sa-ha*(URBS) (DEUS)LUNA+MI-*sa* [. . .] (DEUS)*k[u+av]is-pa-[pa]-sa-ha x-x-si* | á-[. . .]-*ha?* [. . .]-*mu-ti-sa* [. . .]-*sa* [. . .]
- § 3. [ . . . ] xxx (LITUUS+)*á-za-ta*

<sup>10</sup> See below, Analysis of historical content (p. 154 f.), where the information provided by both stelae is combined on the assumption of this identity. The uneconomical postulation of a second Hamiyatas by Meriggi was based on an attempt to date TELL AHMAR 2 earlier than 1 while accepting the Hamiyatas of the latter as son of the author (*RHA* III/18 (1935), 45 f.). My edition, I hope, makes clear that the TELL AHMAR 1 reference is to a past (not future) Hamiyatas, and this recognition makes possible the identification with the author of TELL AHMAR 2 and the consequent establishment of that stele as the earlier work.

<sup>11</sup> Entered in the Aleppo Museum register as having been seized by the police during an attempt to smuggle it out of the country. First edited by R. D. Barnett, *Iraq* 10 (1948), 137 and Plates XXIII–XXIV; and recently by Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2, no. 307.

<sup>12</sup> I have already quoted some relevant passages (§§ (8), 9–11, 24–25)—*An. St.* 25 (1975), 134 and Fig. 1, 140, 146 and Fig. 4.

<sup>13</sup> The fact that it was apparently found inside Syrian territory does of course restrict the provenance to those centres of Hieroglyphic inscriptions within the modern frontiers, i.e. Hamath or Til-Barsip, or (very partially and less likely) Carchemish or Unqi.

<sup>14</sup> I cannot add very substantially to the interpretations of Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2, 212–217, except on a different reading of a clause, ll. 5–6, for which see below, note on TELL AHMAR 1, § 10; and on the verb LITUUS(-)*pa-la-ni-ia-*, for which see *Kadmos* 19 (1980), 138 ff.

<sup>15</sup> Donner and Röllig, *KAI*<sub>2</sub>, no. 215; Gibson, *TSSI* II, no. 14.

- (3) § 4. *wa/i-mu-'* | *á-ma-za* | *tá-ti-ia-za* (“\*382”) || *s[á-la-h]a-za* | *pi-ia-t[a]*  
 § 5. *á-[wa/i]* (FINES)*i+ra/i-[ha]-z[a/i . . .]* | *pa-[. . .]-x x-[. . .]-x [. . .]-wa/i+ra/i*  
*[CR]US [. . . U]RBS<sup>2</sup> [. . . ](-)pa-si-i [SUP]ER +<sub>RA/I</sub> *pa+ra/i-[x-x]i<sup>7</sup>-ha* | (“CAPUT”)  
*ha+ra/i-ma-hi-na*  
 § 6. *“X”-tú-sa-pa-wa/i-tá* | *1-ti-i* | *PES<sub>2</sub>(-)tara/i-zi-ha*  
 § 7. *á-wa/i* | *ku-ma-na* [(*á-mi-(i)-s*)]*a-'* [(AVUS)] *hu-ha[-?]-sa* [REX-*ti*]-*i-sá* [*sa-tá*]-'  
 § 8. [*wa/i-sa*]-' *pa-[sa]-na-'* | (\*274)*u-pa-ti-ti* | *DOMINUS-na-ni-i-sa sa-tá-'*  
 (4) § 9. *á-wa/i* | (“OCCIDENS”) *i-pa-||ma-ti-i* (DEUS.ORIENS.MI) *ki-sá-ta-ma-ti-ha* |  
 \*382.CRUS(-)LEPUS+<sub>RA/I</sub>-*ta*  
 § 10. | *á-na*(REGIO)-*pa-wa/i-sa* | *REL-i* | *ARHA* (“MORI”) *wa/i-la-tá*  
 § 11. *mi-pa-wa/i-'* *tá-ti-na*[-' *REL(?)*]-*za pa-si-'* | *20-tá-ti-i-sa* | *INFANS-ni-i-na* |  
*SUB-na-na* | *LITUUS+na-tá-'*  
 § 12. *pa-s[a]-wa/i-'* (“\*382”) *sá-la-ha-za* | “\*314”(-)*ha-CRUS-sá-tara/i-ti* | *SUPER*  
 +<sub>RA/I</sub>-*'* | *tá-ta*  
 § 13. *wa/i-tá-'* | *zi-la* | *pa-si-'* | (INFANS)*ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa* *Iha-mi-ia-ta-sa* |  
*PUGNUS-<sup>7</sup>ri+i<sup>7</sup>-ta*  
 § 14. *wa/i-mu-'* *mi-i-'* (AVUS)*hu-ha-ti* | \*382-*la-ha-ti* | *SUPER+RA/I-'* *x-x-ta*  
 (5) § 15. || [. . .] *x* [. . .] *tá pa* [. . .] *pa-s[á<sup>2</sup>]-'* | “DOMUS”- [. . .] | “DOMINUS”-*na-i-na* |  
*i-zi-i-tá*  
 § 16. *pa-sa-za-<sup>7</sup>pa<sup>2</sup>-wa/i-mu-'* | *FRATER-la-za* | *MAGNUS+RA/I-za-na* | *i-zi-i-tá*  
 § 17. *wa/i-mu-'* | *CRUS-ni-<sup>7</sup>mi<sup>7</sup>-i-sa* | (“FRONS”) *ha-ta-za* | *SUB-na-na* | “LITUUS  
 +*pa*”-*za-la-ni-ta*  
 § 18. [*ARHA*]-<sup>7</sup>*pa-wa/i-<sup>7</sup>sá* | *REL-i* (“MORI”) *wa/i-la-tá*  
 § 19. *wa/i-mu-'* *pa-si-i-'* | (INFANS)*ni-mu-wa/i-i-za-sa* *MALUS<sub>1</sub>-wa/i-z[a]-'* | *CUM-ni* |  
 (“\*382”)LEPUS+<sub>RA/I</sub>-*ia-ta*  
 (6) § 20. *mi-i-ha-wa/i-'* | (\*274)*u-pa-ti-ti-i* | (“MALUS”<sub>2</sub>)*ha-ha-ni-wa/i-||z[a-']* |  
*CU[M-ni]* | *VAS* [. . .] *z[a]+ra/i-ti-i-ta*  
 § 21. | *m[u]-pa-wa/i-'* | *za-[á]-ti-i-'* “CAELUM”-*sa-na* [(DEUS)]TONITRUS-*hu-ti* |  
 (<sup>7</sup>MANUS)*i-s[a-tara/i-x]-x* | *SUPER[+RA/I-']* | [. . .]  
 § 22. *wa/i-tu-'* | *á-[. . .] pá<sup>2</sup>+ra/i-[. . .]**

(text completely destroyed for rest of line 6 and half of line 7 except for two insignificant patches)

- (7) § 23'. || . . . ](-)*mi-zi* | *INFANS-ni-zi-i* *x x* [. . .]  
 § 24'. [*á-mi-pa-wa/i*]-*mi-i-tu-'* | (“\*314”) *ka-pi-la-li-na* (FILIA)*tú-wa/i-tara/i-na*  
 (FEMINA.PURUS.INFRA)*ta-ni-ti-na* | *i-zi-i-wa/i-i*  
 § 25'. *wa/i-mu-'* | “AUDIRE”-*ti-i-tá* | *za-á-sa* | “CAELUM-si”-*i-sa* || (DEUS) TONITRUS  
 [. . .]  
 § 26'. *wa/i-mu[-']* | *pi-[?]-x mi-i-n[a]-'* | (“\*314”) *k[a]-pi-la-li-i-na*  
 § 27'. *wa/i-tá-'* | *ARHA* | *CAPUT* 69(-)*i-ti-[x]*  
 § 28'. *pa-si-pa-[wa/i]-'* | *INFANS* [. . .]  
 § 29'. *pa-si-pa-wa/i-'* (FILIA)*tú-wa/i-ta[ra/i- na]* FE[MINA . . .]

### Translation

- § 1. [I am PN, *titles*, . . .] . . .-ed country-king, Hapatilas’s great-grandson, the ruler  
 Ariyahinas’s son.  
 § 2. Me (as) a . . . *child* celestial Tarhuns, Ea the king, the good god Kuparmas,  
 Matilas(?), Tesupas, and the Haranean Moon God, and Kupapa . . . [. . .]  
 § 3. [ . . . ] they loved,  
 § 4. they gave me my paternal *power*.

- § 5. . . .  
 § 6. and I TARZI-ed . . .  
 § 7. When [my great-]grandfather(?) 'was king(?)'  
 § 8. he was lord to/for his *demesne*,  
 § 9. he governed in the west and the east.  
 § 10. But when he *died* in the country Ana,  
 § 11. my father, because his 20-TATIS *despised* (him) (as) a child,  
 § 12. he took over his *power* by *violence*(?).  
 § 13. Thereafter his son Hamiyatas *arose*(?),  
 § 14. he [. . .]ed me over my great-grandfather by/with/from *power*,  
 § 15. [. . . me] he made lord of his (own) house,  
 § 16. and me he made great(er) than his (own) brothers,  
 § 17. everyone *regarded* my face (i.e. obeyed me).  
 § 18. But when he *died*,  
 § 19. his son decreed evil for me,  
 § 20. and he *contrived* wickedness for my *demesne*.  
 § 21. But I [raised] up (my) han[d(s)] to this celestial Tarhunzas,  
 § 22. to him 'those *words*' [I spoke: ". . .]

(*prayer largely missing*)

- § 23'. [. . .] . . . sons . . . [. . .]  
 § 24'. [and] I myself shall make [my] *enemy*(')s daughter a hierodule for him".  
 § 25'. This celestial Tarhunzas heard me,  
 § 26'. to me [he] ga[ve(?)] my *enemy*,  
 § 27'. (his) head [I] destroy[ed],  
 § 28'. and his son[s . . .]  
 § 29'. and his daughter a hi[erodule] I made . . .

#### *Philological Notes*

§ 1. *The missing titulary*: cf. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2, 204. The Hier. inscriptions qualify the name of the authors with any of three elements in variable order—(a) genealogy, (b) office(s), (c) ornamental epithets. The traces of a word formerly preserved before REGIO REX-*tis* (see *Carchemish* III, A 33 h\*), apparently a participle in -*mi*- rather than an ethnic adjective in -*wani*- or -*iza*-, imply that this phrase should be restored as an ornamental epithet ("honour'd country-king" or the like—so Meriggi). The otherwise unattested REGIO REX corresponds to the common Carchemish title REGIO DOMINUS.

Such ornamental epithets, after office title and genealogy are best exemplified on MARAŞ 1 (lion), 3-4 (collated):

DEUS-na-ti (LITUUS+) á-za-mi-sà CAPUT-ta-ti x-x-x-ni-mi-sà | FINES-ha-ti AUDIRE-mi-sà  
 REX-ti-sà (LITUUS+) á-za-mi-sa | (BONUS)u-li-ia-mi-sà ("\*422")mu-hi-nu-wa/i-ti-sà | ("PANIS")  
 ma-li-ri+i-mi-i-sà REX-ti-sà

"the king beloved by the gods, [. . .]-ed by the people, heard of abroad, the beloved, exalted, MUHINUWA(N)TI, sweet (lit. 'honeyed(?)') king" (cf. *An. St.* 25 (1975), 151; (BONUS) *uliyami*- clearly participle of (BONUS) *waliya(nu)*-, "exalt").

Here the sizeable gap would accommodate several such epithets, and would be expected to have contained also the author's office. The office title is missing also from TEL AHMAR 2, so that the indigenous designation of the kingdom of Til-Barsip is unknown: the possible identification on the fragment *Til-Barsib*, VIII. 3 is extremely doubtful, as is also the dependent attribution of the value *pá* (see *HH*, no. 462 for bibliography; and most recently, Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2, 217).

*The genealogy*: the order of the forebears, great-grandfather—father, is unparalleled but

the MALATYA inscriptions regularly have grandfather—father (so Meriggi). According to the restoration and interpretation offered below (especially §§ 7–12), the great-grandfather and father were the regnant forebears, which would account for this genealogy.

*ʾara/i-ia-hi-na-si-*: reading subject of much former doubt. Repeated collation now convinces me that Hrozný's reading is correct, i.e. *sign 1—HH*, no. 133, value established (with cursive form, no. 134) as *ara/i*; *sign 2—HH*, no. 210, *ia*; *sign 3—HH*, no. 413, *hi* (contrary to my statement in *ZA* 63 (1973–74), 308, where I mistook it for *HH*, no. 415, *sa*). We thereby reach the transcription *Ariyahina-* and earlier attempts to bend this name into some form of the (cuneiform) *Aḫuni*, last king of Til-Barsip, must be abandoned.

(INFANS)*ni-mu-wa/i-i-za-*: this spelling, which occurs twice on this stele, seems to imply that the word should be interpreted as *nimuwiza-* rather than *nimuwanza-* (i.e. a form ending in *-iza-* rather than *-anza-*).

§ 2. Although the beginning of this clause is very difficult, it may be suggested that the general sense could be comparable with that of *KBo* VI, 29 i 7 f.:

*nu-mu kap-pi-in-pát DUMU-an ḫIŠTAR uru ša-mu-ḫa A-NA A-BU-IA ú-e-ik-ta*

"me as a small child Ištar of Samuha required of my father". (Hattusilis III)

The following observations are offered in support of this interpretation:

*wa/i-mu'-ia-*: peculiarity of writing noted by Meriggi; *-ia* apparently an unknown particle otherwise unattested except in an identical context in *TELL AHMAR* 2, 2. Conceivably in both contexts it could be read as a part of the following word *á-ta<sub>5</sub>-(i-)na*, thus *á-ia-ta<sub>5</sub>-(i-)na*.

INFANS(-)*ni-wa/i-à+ra/i*-\*282: order of reading uncertain, as often in the *TELL AHMAR* inscriptions. The sign 282 occurs in the word (\*256)*ka*-\*282-*na* (CARCHEMISH A 30 *h*), which is plausibly considered to represent the word *karunan* (acc. sing. MF), "granary" (*HH*, nos. 255–256; *Glossar*<sub>2</sub>, s.v. *karuna-*). I cannot suggest any sense to be yielded in the present context from any value which could be attributed to \*282 on the basis of this context.

If, however, we may distinguish the sign of CARCHEMISH A 30 *h* from that in the present context (following Meriggi, *Glossar*<sub>2</sub>, nos. 359c, 418), I would suggest that we might identify the word with (INFANS)*niwarani-* in the following context, MARAS 4 statue, 5 (collated):

| *wa/i-tá VIR-ti-i-zi-i* ("PES") *pa-ti-zi* | *ARHA* ("MANUS+CULTER") *REL+RA/I-ha'*

| INFANS(-)*ni-wa/i+ra/i-ni-zi-pa-wa/i* ("\*474") *u-si-na-si-zi-i* | *i-zi-i-ha'*

("I captured a city,)

(of) the men I cut off the feet,

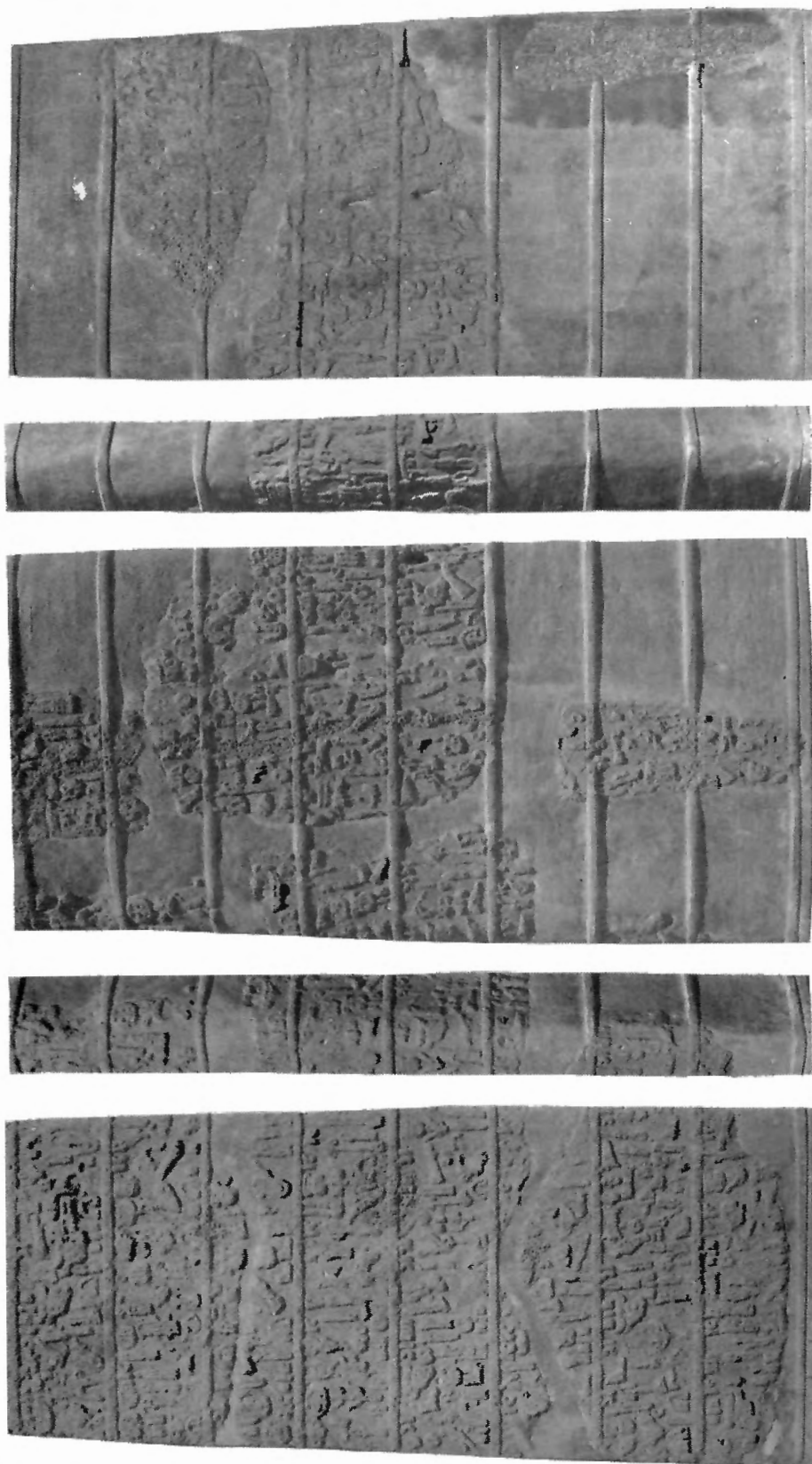
and the children I made attendants".

For the verb *REL+RA/I-* (i.e. \**kwir-*), "cut", see *An. St.* 25 (1975), 143; for the mutilation inflicted on captives by Shalmaneser III, a contemporary of the author of the quoted inscription, see L. W. King, *Bronze Reliefs*, Band X.3 (lower register), plate LVI; (\*474)*wasinasi-/usinasi-* is clearly identifiable with the Cun. Luwian *waššinašši-*, "(that) of the body", here "body-servants, attendants".

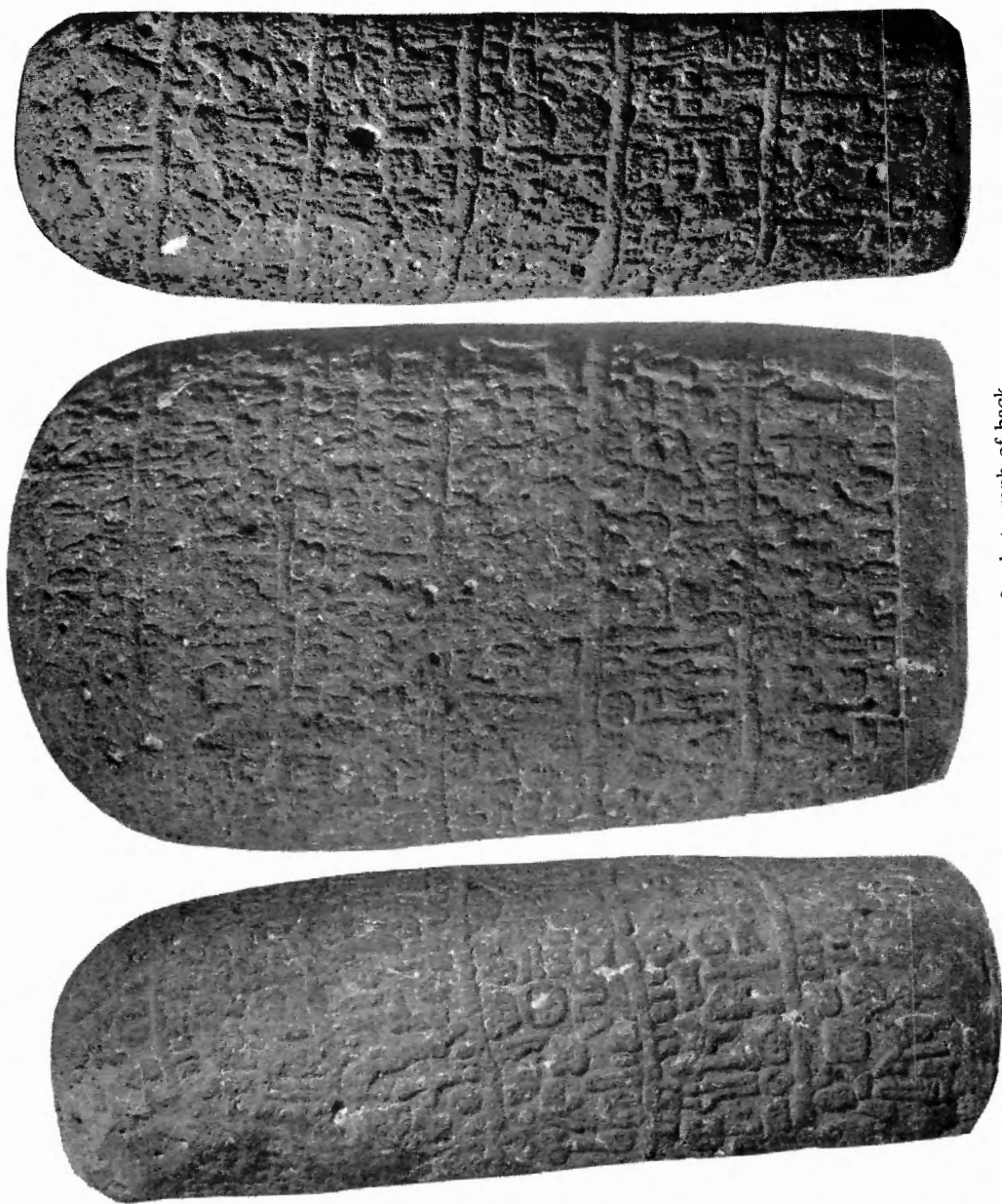
(INFANS)*niwarani-*, parallel formation to *nimuwiza-*, "not-potent, not-mature" (i.e. "child"), thus "not-*warani*", the latter element perhaps being a *-ni* suffixed *nomen actionis* of the root *wari(ya)-*, "help" (*An. St.* 25 (1975), 139), therefore "helpless(?)". In contrast to "males", *niwarani-* could have the basic meaning "the helpless", or simply be a further circumlocution for "child", like *nimuwiza-*.

If we can indeed identify the same word *niwarani-* here, the sign Meriggi 418 would be used to write the end of the stem (*-ni-*)+ case ending, which, if as suggested the word stands in apposition to *-mu*, would be dat., or more probably, if *a-ta<sub>5</sub>-na* is a noun or adjective in agreement (see below), acc. sing. MF; thus we would expect *-ni(ya)* (dat.) or *-nin* (acc.). In Hieroglyphic, syllabograms of the type CVC(V) are largely confined to those with *-r-* as second consonant (thus *HH*, nos. 13–14, *para/i*; *HH*, no. 248, *DOMUS+RA/I* = *para*; *HH*, no. 315, *kar*; *HH*, no. 389, *tara/i*); cf. however also *HH*, no. 366, *OMNIS < TA<sub>x</sub>+nī*—Laroche, *Syria* 33 (1956), 132; *HH*, no. 367, *tal < TA<sub>x</sub>+LI*—Laroche, *Ugaritica* III, 129; *HH*, no. 391, *MUWA(?)*—Mittelberger, *Die Sprache* 8 (1962), 280; *HH*, no. 429, *TANA*. It seems that—rarely—either compound signs may be constructed from two originally separate elements, or logograms of words of the form CVC(V) may be used as a corresponding syllabogram. Could it be that the sign Meriggi 418 is of this type? Alternatively we could suppose it to have the value *ni<sub>x</sub>*, and





The stele TELL AHMAR 1 : photograph of sides, corners and back.



The stele ALEPPO 2: photograph of back.  
(For the front, see Barnett, *Iraq* 10 (1948), Plate XXIV).

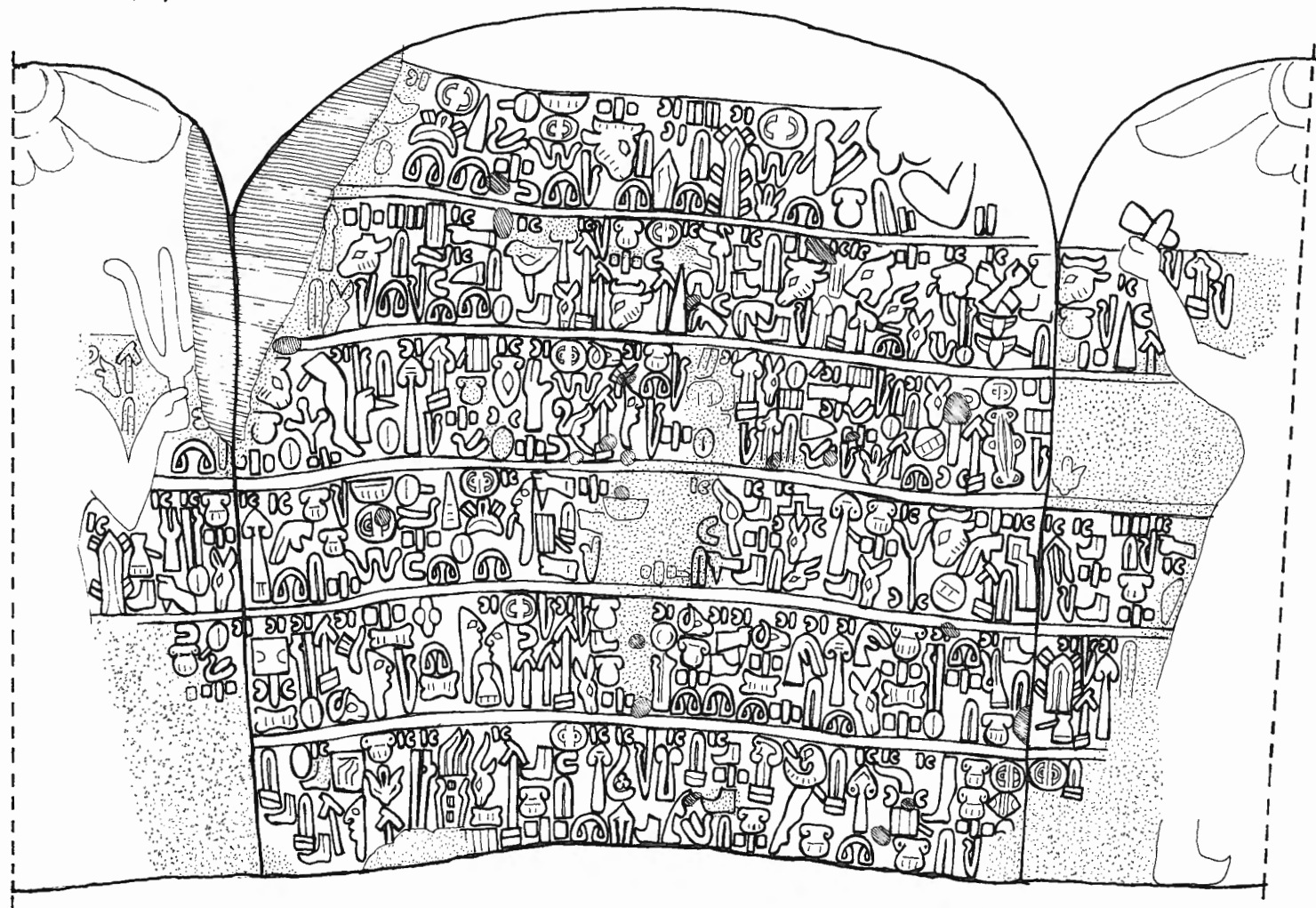


front (right)

back

front (left)

1.  
2.  
3.  
4.  
5.  
6.



1.  
2.  
3.  
4.  
5.  
6.

THE "AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF ARYAHINAS'S SON"

Fig. 2 The stela ALEPPO 2: collated text.



the word to be either dat. sing., or acc. sing. with the case-ending not written (for which cf. *An. St.* 25 (1975), 127).

$\acute{a}$ - $ta_5$ - $na$  (or perhaps  $\acute{a}$ - $ia$ - $ta_5$ - $na$ ): cf. TELL AHMAR 2, 2,  $\acute{a}$ - $t[a_5]$ - $i$ - $na$  (collation of Poetto, *Or. Ant.* 17, 280) or perhaps  $\acute{a}$ - $ia$ - $t[a_5]$ - $i$ - $na$ , similar, broken, context (transliteration raises the problem examined in *JRAS* 1975/2, 130 ff., on the vocalization of  $ta_4$  and  $ta_5$ ). Meriggi identifies and lists this word with the  $\acute{a}$ - $ta_4/ta_5$ , which stands before gods' names in BOYBEYPINARI, ANCOZ and TOPADA (*Glossar*<sub>2</sub>, s.v.  $\acute{a}ti$ -s; cf. also Hawkins, *An. St.* 20 (1970), 90). Neither this context, nor an occurrence in ASSUR letter e (*An. St.* 25 (1975), 135) offer any assistance to the understanding of the word, so for the present the contexts are best kept separate. Here the word seems to be acc. sing. MF which prompts a similar identification of the preceding - $mu$  and following INFANS(-) $niwara$ -\*282. Since the options for the latter have been suggested to be either an adjective ("helpless") or a noun ("child"), the options for this word are either noun ("a helpless child(?)") or adjective ("an  $ata$ -/ $aiata$  child"). Having said this, one must remember that the sense is merely guessed from the possible parallelism with the Cun. Hittite quotation from Hattusilis III, with which the section was introduced. The possibility of identifying a word  $ata$ - or  $aiata$ - as "child", or an appropriate adjective (e.g. "young"?) is here presented.

*The sequence of gods*: seems to correspond at least approximately with that on TELL AHMAR 2, 2-3, though both are mutilated. See in general M. Kalaç, *Or. NS* 34 (1965), 401-427, s.v. *Tarhu*(<sup>ti</sup>)-, *Aā*, NISABA, *Mu(wa)tila*-, *Tešup*, *Arma*, *Kupapa*.

(DEUS)\*454(-) $ma$ - $ti$ - $lā$ / $i$ - $sa$  / (DEUS)\*454- $lā$ / $i$ - $sa$ : full phonetic reading probably but not certainly *Matilis*. Kalaç now suggests a reading *Hummatilis* (*KZ* 92 (1978), 121).

(DEUS)LUNA+ $MI$ - $sa$  [. . .] (DEUS) $k[u+A]$ VIS- $pa$ - $[pa]$ - $sa$ - $ha$ : small lacuna corresponds to longer passage in TELL AHMAR 2, 3, where I would read—

|  $\acute{a}$ - $ta$ - $na$  | (PES<sub>2</sub>) $tara$ / $i$ - $za$ - $mi$ - $i$ - $sa$  X [. . .]. Meriggi (*Manuale* II/2, 212) would read X as  $\acute{u}$ TU, and Poetto (*Or. Ant.* 17, 280, n. 7) as  $\acute{u}$ [U]TU. Although these readings would give good sense, my own collation does not fully support them, but I would provisionally accept one or other.  $\acute{a}$ - $ta$ - $na$  (=  $a(n)tan$ ?) *tarzamis* taken here as divine epithet (cf. § 6 below for verb (PES<sub>2</sub>)*tarzi*-). In the following gap, Poetto restores Meriggi's  $\acute{a}Ka$ ? . . . s (with which my collation agrees) as  $\acute{a}Ka$ + $ra$ - $h[u-ha]$ -s, a difficult but perhaps not impossible reading.

§ 5.  $\acute{a}$ - $[wa/i]$  — |("CAPUT") $ha$ + $ra$ / $i$ - $ma$ - $hi$ - $na$ : provisionally taken as single clause, since the broken remains of the intervening words do not readily suggest the sequence *verb—connective particles—verb*, which would be required if two clauses were represented. Further collation might contribute to the elucidation.

[. . .U]RBS? suggested by squeeze in the B.M.; preceded by city-name?

[. . .] $(-)$  $pa$ - $si$ - $i$  [. . . SU]PER+ $RA$ / $I$   $pa$ + $ra$ / $i$  [. . .]: at a guess, a restoration [(CAELUM) $ti$ ]- $pa$ - $si$ - $i$  SUPER+ $RA$ / $I$   $pa$ + $ra$ / $i$ , "up into the sky" might seem not implausible.

verb: presumably to be sought in  $[x-x]$ - $\acute{r}$  $i$ - $ha$ .

*harmahin*: clearly a direct object.

A sense for this passage similar to that of CARCHEMISH A 6, 2, is contemplated ("the gods caused my name to go up to the sky, and my name they caused to pass abroad").

§ 6. PES<sub>2</sub>(-) $tara$ / $i$ - $zi$ - $ha$ : cf. PES<sub>2</sub>(-) $tara$ / $i$ - $za$ - $nu$ - $wa$ / $i$ - $tā$  (CARCHEMISH A 11 a, 2; cited below, § 11); PES<sub>2</sub>(-) $tara$ / $i$ - $za$ - $mi$ - $i$ - $sa$  (TELL AHMAR 2, 3; cited above, § 2). The form  $tara$ / $i$ - $zi$ - $ha$  in BULGARMADEN, 2, may indicate that we have here a full phonetic spelling, for it seems to belong to a similar context, i.e. "the gods did something good for me, and I *tarzi*-ed".

| 1- $ti$ - $i$ : probably best taken thus as the logogram "one" (so Meriggi) and distinguished from the logogram MORI discussed below.

§ 7. Restoration: this clause must introduce the singular subject of §§ 8-10, and appears to contain three nominative words ending in - $sa$ / $sā$ . The end of this clause and the beginning of the next seems to be marked by the [. . .]' [. . .]'. The nominatives suggest that something is predicated of something else, and thus that a form of the verb "to be" may be restored, which is supported by the spacing; for the restoration [ $sa$ - $tā$ ]-' [ $wa$ / $i$ - $sa$ ]-', ". . . he was, and he . . .", compare the writing of this pair in e.g. CARCHEMISH A 11 b, 2 (§§ 2-3).

$hu$ - $ha$ -[?]- $sa$ : perhaps the full phonetic writing of the word "grandfather", the awkward arrangement of the signs (typical of this inscription) being dictated by the necessity to fill the

space below the large logogram AVUS, now almost entirely lost. The comparable writing (AVUS)*hu-ha-ti* (§ 14) suggests however the restoration *hu-ha[-ti]-sa*, which introduces the great-grandfather, Hapatilas, named in the genealogy, and seems more appropriate to the context; for further discussion of this problem, see below, note on § 14. That the "great-grandfather" should be the subject of §§ 7–10 is quite probable, since § 11 continues with "my father" (acc.).

[(*á*-)*mi*-(*i*-)*s*]*a*': an obvious restoration, which would fit the space and is demanded by the context, again by contrast with the subsequent "my father".

[*REX-ti*]-*i-sá*: besides the clear suitability of this restoration to the spacing, it should be noted that the context which follows, especially §§ 8–9, suggest that the subject was indeed royal.

§ 8. (\*274)*upatiti*: an association with the Cun. « *upati* » is apparent. The sense of the latter, as noted by Güterbock (*Oriens* 10 (1957), 360) is drawn from the Ulmi-Tešub Treaty (*KBo* IV 10 i 30), where it denotes a piece of a city's territory named for the purpose of frontier definition; from the Instructions to Temple Servants (*KUB* XIII 4 i 44), which lists a festival of the men of the *upati*-; from the Zukraši text (*KBo* VII 14 i 10), where the *upati*'s of named persons are mentioned (cf. Starke, *StBot* 23, 169, no. 290). These references are supplemented by its occurrence in O. Ass. texts as a loan word, *upatinnum*, and an onomastic element (E. Bilgiç, *Die einheimischen Apellativa der kappadok. Texte* (Ankara, 1954), 47 ff.); and in Ugaritic as *ubdy* (Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, Glossary, no. 17). The range of meaning is thus defined as a certain type of land-holding, and also the persons holding it.

The Hier. form *upatit*- is considered by Starke to be a consonant stem in *-it*- rather than an enlarged form in *-(a)nt(i)-* (personal communication). The Hier. attestations offer some scope for enlarging our understanding of the term. A god *upatitasi*- *Tarhunza*-, "Tarhunzas of the *upatit*-" is mentioned (MARAS 4 statue, 1–2), apparently a local manifestation of the deity like Hier. *tuwarsas(is)* *Tarhunzas*-, "T. of the vineyard", or Cun. <sup>d</sup>IM/<sup>d</sup>X *gimras*-, "T. of the field". Of the references in the present inscription, § 20 below shows that the *upatit*- was an attribute of an individual liable to attack by the malignant; in parallel contexts we find an individual's "person" (*vas-ni*, TELL AHMAR 2, l. 7) so threatened, also his "son and grandson" (KARABURUN, 1–2); cf. *An. St.* 25 (1975), 147 f.). The present context indicates that a man, probably a king, would be "master in/for his *upatit*-. The translation "demesne" is suggested, covering as it does land owned by a subject but also a sovereign's possessions. Cf. also below, ALEPPO 2, note on § 20.

§ 10. Meriggi (*Manuale* II/2, 207) comments on the peculiarity of the verbal ending *-tá* being written in the same "column" as the following connective particle group *mi-pa-wa/i*-. Such arrangements are not uncommon in Hier., though normally a word divider would be written. This may be taken as a typical example of the way in which this inscription is careless in spacing and arrangement of its signs.

*á-na*(REGIO)-: Meriggi (loc. cit.) considered REGIO to have the syllabic value *tu*<sub>5</sub> found in two KARATEPE alternations of this sign with *tu* (*Ho.* 283, 325). It is, however, very unlikely that this rare and unexplained usage would occur here. If we compare such writings as *á-sú+ra/i*(REGIO)-*wa/i-ni*-, "Assyrian", we may well conclude that REGIO here exercises its normal function of postposed determinative of country names. A comparable writing occurs on TELL AHMAR 2, 6, *á-na-i-tá*(REGIO)-*wa/i-na*-' (collated, order of reading somewhat uncertain) in the following context:

*wa/i-mu*-' (DEUS)AVIS-*ta-ni-zi* | *á-na-i-tá*(REGIO)-*wa/i-na*-' | (SOLIUM)*i-sa-n[ú]*-*wa/i-h[a]*

"During my '(good) times' I settled the Anaitean . . .".

(DEUS)AVIS-*ta-ni-zi*: sense close to "days, times, years", in contexts describing prosperity, hence present translation (cf. *An. St.* 29 (1979), 157, n. 31); elsewhere the word is found in dat. plur., but for acc. of duration of time, cf. such phrases as *ara/i-zi* OMNIS-*MI-zi*-, "for all generations"; CENTUM-*ni usin*-, "for 100 year(s)" (*JRAS* 1975/2, 125 f., 129 f.; *Florilegium Anatolicum*, 153; and for Cun. Hittite, see Friedrich, *Elementarbuch*<sub>2</sub>, § 202; Kammenhuber, *Hipp. Heth.*, 269 ff., 331 f.).

*á-na-i-tá*(REGIO)-*wa/i-na*': apparently acc. plur. neuter of *-wani*- ethnic adj. of stem *anaita*-, though it is very hard to see what the sense could be with this as the direct object of the verb *isanu(wa)*-.

*ana*(REGIO)-, *anaita*(REGIO)-: the two writings might possibly refer to the same place. The toponym *Ana* could perhaps be associated with the land of Hana, attested at least as late as the mid-11th century B.C. (*RIA* IV, s.v. *Hana*); and the form *anaita* to the city *Hanat* (2nd millennium), or alternatively to the city *Anat* (1st millennium—*RIA* I, s.v. *Anat*). Hana(t) and Anat were geographically distinct, the one lying upstream and the other downstream from Mari (Kupper, *Nomades*, 44 ff.). (A loss of an initial *h*- in the Hier. rendering of Semitic place names is seen in *imat(u)*-, “Hamath” and *ilapa*-, “Halab”—*HHL*, [15] f.; *CARCHEMISH* A 24, cf. *Iraq* 36 (1974), 72 and n. 39). In the reign of Aššurnāširpal II, which *TELL AHMAR* 1 probably antedated by at least one generation, the people of Bit-Adini were actively interfering in the middle-Euphrates states of Laqe, Hindanu and Suhu (Grayson, *ARI* II, § 547, 578–9).

*arha* (“MORI”) *wal(a)*:- for a detailed argument that this word means “to die” (whence the rendering of the logogram MORI), see Hawkins, *KZ* 94 (1980), 109–119. This clause, with § 18 below, forms one of the three contexts crucial to this interpretation.

*REL-i*: if the rest of the sense of this clause has been correctly established, it would precisely fix the meaning of this conjunction as “when”.

§ 11. The order of the reading of the signs in this clause is especially problematic, though in fact it is not as acute as might be supposed from the copies of Hrozný and Meriggi, as reference to my photograph, Plate ?, will confirm. The order suggested, in my opinion, offers the only possibility of retrieving the grammatical structure of the clause. What has happened is that in the careless arrangement of the signs in which this text abounds, the final signs, particularly the nominal and verbal endings, have been shifted to the right out of their proper “columns”. Many examples of such displacements could be observed in Hier. texts (e.g. in the usually well-arranged *CARCHEMISH* A 11 a, 4: AEDIFICARE+*mi-ha*). The key word to recognize here is *SUB-na-na* (= *anan*, “under”, *HH*, no. 57, 2), for which compare the writing of the same word in the next line directly below (§ 17).

[*REL(?)*]-*za*: the presence of the *-za* is signalled by Hrozný’s text and seems from the photograph, *Til-Barsib*, Album, pl. V, to have been on a joined fragment now lost.

*20-ta-ti-i-sa*: surely to be read in this order and construed as subject. The word is attested elsewhere only on *CARCHEMISH* A 11 a, 2:

*mi-zi-pa-wa/i-mu-ta-* | *20-tá-ti-zi* *ARHA* CRUS+*RA/I*  
[*wa/i*]-*ma-tá* | *REGIO-ni-ia* | \*314(-)*sá-pa-za* | *REL-à-ti* *SUB-na-na* *ARHA* PES<sub>2</sub>(-)*tara/i-za-nu-wa/i-tá*

“My 20-TATI’s revolted from me,

but *though* they caused to ANAN ARHA TARZA from me the lands . . . ,

(the gods loved me . . . )”

I would suggest that the *mi(n)zi 20-tati(n)zi* are the same persons as those referred to in *CARCHEMISH* A 11 b + c as “Ura-Tarhunzas’ grandsons” (cf. *Iraq* 36 (1974), 72, with *An. St.* 25 (1975), 134 citation 23), and that both contexts describe the same dynastic struggle against rebels at the beginning of Katuwas’ reign. Contextually the word *20-tá-ti-*, applied both there and here apparently to rivals for power, seems most likely to be a term of kinship, perhaps compounded with *tati-*, “father”, comparable with the kinship terms compounded with *anna/i-*, “mother” (Hitt. *LÜ/SALanninni-yami-*, “cousin”; *annaneka-*, “sister (by same mother)”); cf. also Luw. *annawanni-*, *tatawanni-*, “step-mother/father”). If this suggestion is correct, “uncle” or “cousin” are perhaps the likeliest interpretations for *20-tati-*.

*anan* *LITUUS+na*: for the interpretation of the verb *LITUUS+na-*, “see”, and the present phrase “look down on, despise”, see *Kadmos* 19 (1980), 123–138.

§ 12. (“\*382”) *sà-la-ha-za*: the exact interpretation of this term requires some consideration in the context of the present inscription, in particular whether it is concrete, “sceptre”, or abstract “power, majesty”, and whether it is a specific attribute of kings. The concrete interpretation is that of Meriggi (*Glossar*, 22; 173 f.) which would presumably be supported by Gelb’s interpretation of the logogram as a determinative for objects made of wood (see below, *AL-EPPO* 2, note on § 8). Laroche suggests an abstract sense by comparing Cun. Hitt. *šallatar*, yet the form would be unparalleled and unexplained. [But see below, Addendum 1].

The statement “the gods gave me my fathers’ *salha(n)za*” is made at Carchemish by Suhis

and his son Katuwas, both of whom had regnant fathers; and at Til-Barsip by Hamiyatas (TELL AHMAR 2, 3-4) and Ariyahinas's son in the present inscription (§ 3). Thus at Til-Barsip, Ariyahinas lost his *salha(n)za* while a child to his 20-tatis, whose son Hamiyatas inherited *salha(n)za* from him. Subsequently Hamiyatas [...]ed Ariyahinas's son over his great-grandfather (see below § 14 for a discussion) by/with/from *salha(n)za*, and finally after Hamiyatas had been succeeded by his son, Ariyahinas's son was awarded his father's *salha(n)za* by the gods, apparently by recovering the kingdom from Hamiyatas's son with the support of Celestial Tarhunzas. The alternations of *salha(n)za* do suggest that whoever held it was currently king.

*sara tà-*, "take over": for this usage, cf. BOHÇA, 2 and 3, where Tarhunzas grants the ruler "to take over" (SUPER+RA/I CAPERE(-)luna) the territories—see Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins, *Studia . . . Meriggi*, forthcoming. There it is noted that the verb was (la)la-, "take", and comment is made on the difficulty in deciding in other writings of the verb whether to read the "taking hand" syllabically (thus tà-) or logographically (thus CAPERE, perhaps to be read la-); this observation applies to the present case too.

"\*314"(-)ha-CRUS-sá-tara/i-ti: besides its (logographic) use to write the word *ta(nuwa)-*, "(cause to) stand", the sign CRUS is apparently used with a syllabic value *ta<sub>x</sub>* in the writing of the Malatya king's name <sup>1</sup>CRUS+RA/I-sa (Taras?), and on three occasions (perhaps four—see below, note on § 26') in this inscription; the contextually clear *ta<sub>x</sub>-mi-mi-i-sa*, "all" (§ 17); the less certain \*382.CRUS(-)LEPUS+RA/I-, perhaps read as reduplicated \*tatapari(ya)-, "govern, decree" (§ 9); and here, where we may probably read (-)ha-ta<sub>x</sub>-sá-tara/i-ti, and analyse as (-)hat+astri-, showing the abstract suffix -stri- noted in *An. St.* 28 (1978), 107. It is tempting to identify this word as Cun. Luw. *hattašt(ar)ri-*, written *ha-at-ta-aš-ta[r]-r[i . . .]* (KUB XXXV 71 ii 9), *ha<sup>2</sup>-at<sup>2</sup>-ta-aš-ta-ri-in* (KUB XXXV 43 ii 18 and duplicates), and translated by Cun. Hitt. *hatugatar*, "frightfulness" (KUB IX 4 ii 18-21 // KUB IX 34 iii 5-6; see Laroche, *RHA* XVI/63 (1958), 103). The translation provisionally yields to the temptation. [Addendum 2].

§ 13. *zila*: cf. *HHL*, [47].

PUGNUS-ri+i-: a troublesome verb still of uncertain reading [but cf. now below, Addendum 4]. It appears both as transitive and as intransitive (as here). A meaning "raise, rise", seems generally appropriate: cf. *An. St.* 29 (1979), 158 and footnote 36; also below, note on § 21. In the present context, it does seem to mark Hamiyatas' accession to authority.

§ 14. (AVUS)hu-ha-ti: must be dat. sing. of *huha(n)ti-*, as is indicated by the qualifying *mi*. In the genealogical sequence (MARŞ 4, 4) *huha(n)ti-* (cf. Cun. Hitt. *huhhant-*; Starke, however, prefers to interpret the form as -tti- suffixed, *huhati-*) does seem to mean specifically "great-grandfather". When used as an adjective, however, specially when linked to *tati(ya)-*, "fatherly, of the father", it may mean no more than "grandfatherly, of the grandfather". Presumably a precise degree of relationship is intended here, and it seems probable that it refers to the named great-grandfather of the genealogy Hapatilas, and that it is also the form which should be restored, referring to the same individual, in § 7.

\*382-la-ha-ti: presumably a form of (\*382)*salha-* (so Meriggi and Laroche). It could have seemed appropriate to take *mi huha(n)ti salhati* together as "to my (great-)grandfather's power" (cf. *ama tatiya huha(n)ti<ya> REGIO-niya*, "my father's and (great-)grandfathers' lands" (CARCHEMISH A 11 a, 3); *zaya PORTA-lana ama huha(n)tiya*, "these gates (of) my (great-)grandfather's" (ibid., 4)), but this would involve the difficulty of explaining the form *salhati* as dat. sing. of *salha-*. It seems preferable therefore to separate the two and construe *salhati* as a straightforward abl. (sing.).

Sense: following this analysis, we obtain: "He [...]ed me over my great-grandfather by/with/from power." Though this is somewhat obscured by the loss of the verb, the general significance seems fairly clear.

§ 15. "DOMUS"-[...] DOMINUS-na-i-na: for the phrase "lord of the house", see now a new KULULU stele, to be published by Professor Mustafa Kalaç, to whom I am much indebted for this information. Cf. also Cun. Hitt. EN É.

§ 16. MAGNUS+RA/I-za-na: for the suffixed form *uraza-*, see *HHL*, [38-41]; and for syntactic means of expressing comparison in Cun. Hittite, Friedrich, *Elementarbuch*<sub>2</sub>, §§ 221-223.

§ 17. CRUS-*ni-mi-i-sa*: contextually clear usage of CRUS as syllabogram *ta<sub>x</sub>*, as noted by Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2, 209.

SUB-na-na “LITUUS+*pa*”-za-la-ni-: this passage, and especially this verb, is treated in detail in *Kadmos* 19 (1980), 138–140, in the context of the identification of the LITUUS as determining verbs of “seeing”. It is argued there that this verb, of which the exact phonetic shape is somewhat uncertain, means “look at from below, look up to”.

(“FRONS”)ha-ta-za: this form is identified probably as dat. plur. of noun (*plurale tantum*) hanta, “face”, rather than the alternative nom./acc. sing. neuter.

“To look up to the face of . . .” is interpreted, by comparison with Akkadian *pānī dagālu*, as “be subservient to, obey”.

§ 18. Restoration by parallelism with § 10 above, where see also note with reference to interpretation of *arha wal(a)*- as “die”.

-*pa-wa/i*': partially visible on the now missing fragment (see note on § 11, [REL]-za).

§§ 19, 20. MALUS<sub>1</sub>-*wa/i-za*// (“MALUS<sub>2</sub>”)ha-ha-ni-wa/i-za: for the logogram(s) MALUS, see Meriggi, *Glossar*<sub>2</sub>, nos. 9.3 and 405a–b; Laroche, *HH*, no. 368; the two forms of the logogram should be kept distinct, following Meriggi (i.e. MALUS<sub>1</sub> = *Glossar*<sub>2</sub>, 9.3; MALUS<sub>2</sub> = *Glossar*<sub>2</sub>, 405a–b).

§ 19. MALUS<sub>1</sub>: sole attested phonetic spelling (MALUS<sub>1</sub>)á-tu-wa/i-ri+i- alternates with MALUS<sub>1</sub>-*ta<sub>4</sub>*- (KARATEPE, *Hu./Ho.* 102). Elsewhere the logogram is found written with phonetic complements indicating abstract forms in the ablative (MALUS<sub>1</sub>-*ta<sub>4</sub>/tā-ti*—add the reference from below, ALEPPO 2, § 24; MALUS<sub>1</sub>-*ta<sub>4</sub>/ta<sub>5</sub>-sa-tara/i-ti*; cf. also MALUS<sub>1</sub>-*hi-ta-ri+i*), where, it will be noted, the final stem syllable is written with *ta<sub>4</sub>* (5 examples), *ta<sub>5</sub>* (2 examples), *tā* (1 example). It may be assumed that behind these writings lies the word *atruwat(a)*- (*An. St.* 20 (1970), 88 f.; for the difficulties of identifying the stem vowel, see now *JRAS* 1975/2, 131).

A nom./acc. sing. neuter is written MALUS<sub>1</sub>-za (SULTANHAN, base, d; KARABURUN, 2, twice). The reading MALUS<sub>1</sub>'-*wa/i-za* (for *ka*-) in the present context, and in TELL AHMAR 2, 7, has been well established since Hrozný (*IHH* III, 475 and note 10; cf. Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2, 209 and 215). The two TELL AHMAR contexts are almost identical with those of KARABURUN (cf. *An. St.* 25 (1975), 147 f., citations 56 a(ii), b), which suggests that MALUS<sub>1</sub>-*wa/i-za* is simply a more fully written form of MALUS<sub>1</sub>-za. It seems likely that this writing represents the nom./acc. sing. neuter of *atruwat(a)*-, but its interpretation is not without problems. Cun. Luwian shows an alternation between the consonant stem *adduwal*- and the -i-stem *adduvali*- (*DLL*, 35, s.v.), and we might therefore expect that MALUS<sub>1</sub>-(*wa/i*)-za represents the consonant stem, \**atruwat*+sa. Other Hier. -t- stems, however, do not behave like this: cf. nom./acc. sing. neuter -(a)hi+sa, *taru*+sa; oblique cases -(a)hit-, *tarut*- (*HHL* [31] ff.). Could *atruwat*- have retained the -t- in the nom./acc. sing. neuter for some special reason? [But see below, Addendum 3].

§ 20. (“MALUS<sub>2</sub>”)ha-ha-ni-wa/i-za: the only other attestations of MALUS<sub>2</sub> determine the adj. (-)ha-ni-ia-ta-, “evil”, so the two words are doubtless connected, the first being reduplicated and suffixed -*wa/i*-, the second perhaps not reduplicated (there is no way of deciding whether this is the full phonetic spelling) and suffixed -a(n)t-, perhaps a participle (Neumann, *Festschrift Otten* (Wiesbaden, 1973), 248—but perhaps associate the root with Cun. « *hanhaniya*-, for which a bad sense is argued by van Brock, *RHA* XXII/75 (1964), 139 ff.).

(\*274)upatiti: cf. discussion above, note to § 8.

CU[M-ni]: the photograph in *LAAA* 2 (1909), Plate XL, 1, shows traces of the first, now missing sign, which, as Meriggi observes (*Manuale* II/2, 210) can be sufficiently clearly seen to identify as CUM, the preverb used with the verb *zarti*- in its other, closely parallel, attestations (TELL AHMAR 2, 7; KARABURUN, 2, twice). [Reading confirmed by squeeze in the B.M.].

VAS[. . .]: an unpublished fragment in Aleppo Museum contains the noun (VAS)za+ra/i-ti-ia-sá. If this is the same root as the verb *zarti*-, VAS could be used in both places simply as a determinative. This might be supported by a reading of the parallel passage TELL AHMAR 2, 7: in *An. St.* 25 (1975), 147 citation 56a (ii) I read the verb as | CUM-ni | ‘x’ za+ra/i-ti-ti-i. It is possible that x might be (VAS) or even (“VAS”); see Poetto’s photograph, *Or. Ant.* 17 (1978), Tavola XXIIb. Collation should confirm or invalidate this suggestion decisively.

§ 21. Restoration fairly assured in spite of damage. (MANUS<sup>1</sup>)i-s[a-tara/i-na]-'² looks more likely than i-s[a-tara/i-z]i², though the latter is possible. For a parallel context in Cun. Hittite, cf. e.g. Goetze, *AM*, 20 ff., ll. 22-3, 27; also, closer in space and time, the Aramaic inscription of Zakur of Hamath (Donner and Röllig, *KAI*₂, no. 202, A, 11). For the Hier. phrase "raise the hand(s)", may we compare JISR EL HADID 2, 2: "MANUS"-tara/i-na PUGNUS-ri+i-ta (broken context)? For PUGNUS-ri+i-, "rise; raise"(?), see above, note on § 13. [Addendum 4].

§ 22. Translation suggests restoration: |á-[pa-ia] pá²+ra/i-[ta].

[lost §§] What followed is almost completely missing, but the framework of §§ 21-22—§ 25' clearly suggests that the entire passage was a long prayer to Tarhunzas, of which the concluding clause was § 24'.

§§ 23'-29'. Passage already treated in *KZ* 92 (1978), 113-116, in the context of the reading of the word "daughter", *tuwatri*-. Some amplifications are offered here.

§ 23'. *tuwatri*-, "daughter": Dr. F. Starke kindly draws my attention to Cun. *SALdu-ut-ta-ri-ia-ti-iš* (Laroche, *Noms*, no. 1388), interpreted by him as an appellative rather than a PN and to be understood as *duṭṭriyattis*, "daughter", a Luwian form extended by the suffix *-tti*- as other kinship terms. As he observes, this establishes the phonetic interpretation of the Hier. writing as *tuwatri*- (personal communication; and see now *KZ* 94 (1980), forthcoming, note 14).

(FEMINA.PURUS.INFRA)ta-ni-ti-: my guess of "hierodule" for this word never seemed likely to be so swiftly confirmed as it was by Starke, who has quoted me several examples of the Luwism in Cun. Hittite, *SALdaniti*-, including a passage strikingly similar to the present:

Bo 2469, ii 16, 26 f.:

*kuiš-ma-wa memai ANA DPLUGAL-ma-war-aš SALdanitiš eš[- . . .*

*. . .*

*nu apedani-ya ANA DX SALdanitin telḫhi*

"Who(ever) shall say: 'To Šarruma she is *daniti*-

*. . .*

to that Storm-god also I shall put a *daniti*-".

§ 26'. *pi*-[?]-x: further reflection on this verb suggests to me that, contrary to what I wrote in *KZ* 92 (1978), 115, we may have here simply 'DARE. CRUS' as an unusual writing of *piyata*, "he gave". This would produce a further example of the usage of CRUS in this inscription as a syllabogram *ta<sub>x</sub>*, for which cf. above, note on § 12.

## ALEPPO 2

*Transliteration* (Fig. 2, p. 145).

- (1) § 1. EGO-mi-i<sup>1</sup> Tara/i-pa-sa (DEUS)TONITRUS-si | BONUS-mi-i-sa mi-ta<sub>4</sub>-i-sa  
 § 2. wa/i-mu-' (CAELUM.DEUS)TONITRUS-sa ha+ra/i-na-wa/i-ni-sa(URBS) (DEUS)  
 (2) LUNA+MI-sa | X X || [. . .] X-X-ta  
 § 3. wa/i-mu-' mi-i-sa-' DOMINUS-na-ni-sa | FRATER-la-i-sa-ha | X+RA/I-ti<sup>2</sup>  
 REL<sup>2</sup>-ta  
 § 4. | za-à-zī-pa-wa/i-mu DEUS-ni-zī REX-<sup>1</sup>ta<sub>x</sub><sup>2</sup>-hi-tà CUM-ni | PES<sub>2</sub>.PES<sub>2</sub>(-)<sup>1</sup>tà-ti-i<sup>2</sup>  
 § 5. <sup>1</sup>wa/i<sup>1</sup>-mu-' | X-X-ia | (BESTIA)REL<sub>2</sub>-sà+ra/i-sa  
 § 6. wa/i-ta | PRAE-na ARHA | (PUGNUS+PUGNUS)hu-hu+ra/i-pa-ti-i  
 (3) § 7. mu-pa-wa/i-' | URBS-ni-zī- NEG<sub>2</sub>-' [. . . || . . .]  
 § 8. wa/i-mi-' (DEUS)SOL(-)ni<sup>2</sup>(-)<sup>2</sup>za ("\*382(?)")ta-ru-sa | i-zī-i-ha(-)si  
 § 9. à-wa/i mi-na-' | FRATER-la-na <sup>1</sup>ha-mi-i[a]-ta-NEG<sub>2</sub> NEG<sub>2</sub>-' | [. . .]-ha  
 § 10. à-wa/i pa-sa-' | à-ta<sub>5</sub>-ma-za (DEUS)TONITRUS CUM-ni | PONERE-wa/i-<sup>1</sup>ha<sup>1</sup>  
 § 11. | VAS-tara/i-pa-wa/i-na NEG<sub>2</sub>-' | REL-i-ha à-tà CRUS+RA/I-nu-wa/i-ha

- (4) § 12. *mu-pa-wa/i* <sup>7</sup>*x-x*<sup>7</sup>-*sa zi-i-x-x* || | BONUS-*sa*<sub>5</sub>+*ra/i-ti* | DARE-*tá*  
 § 13. | *ARHA-pa-wa/i-ta* | REL-*sa* | *tà-i*  
 § 14. *pa-pa-wa/i-*' (CAELUM.DEUS)TONITRUS *ha*+*ra/i-na-wa/i-ni-sa*(URBS)-*ha*  
 (DEUS)LUNA+*MI-sa* | (LOQUI)*ta-tara/i-ia-tú*  
 § 15. *wa/i-tú-*' | CAELUM [. . .] | *ni-i* INFRA-*tá* | PES-*wa/i-ti-i*  
 § 16. | ("TERRA")*ta-sà-REL*+*ra/i-ti-pa-wa/i-ta* | ("\*471")*mu-ru-wa/i-tà-za* | *ní-i*  
 SUPER+*RA/I-*' | PES-*wa/i-ti*  
 (5) § 17. *mi-i-pa-wa/i-*' | FRATER(-)*x* || [. . .]*x* | REL-*à-za* | BONUS-*sa*<sub>5</sub>+*ra/i-ti-i* | *pi-pa-*  
*sa-wa/i-i*  
 § 18. | *ARHA-pa-wa/i-tú-wa/i-tà-ta* | REL-*sa* | *tà-i*  
 § 19. | *ma-wa/i-tú-wa/i-sa* | *tá-ti-sa*  
 § 20. | *ma-pa-wa/i-sa* | \*274 [. . .]  
 § 21. *pa-ti-pa-wa/i-ta-*' | *za-à-zi* DEUS-*ni-zi* | IRA-*lá/i-sa-tú*  
 § 22. *wa/i-tú-*' | *á-ta*<sub>5</sub>-*ma-za* | *ARHA* | "DOMUS+*RA/I*"-*tú*  
 (6) § 23. | *ha*+*ra/i-na-wa/i-ni-pa-w[a/i...]*...-*ia-ti* FEMINA-*ti-ia-ti* | *X-zi á-pa-si-z[i]*  
 | *AR[HA]* | (FLAMMAE(?))*ki-n[ú]-sà-tú*  
 § 24. | *za-ti-pa-wa/i* DEUS-*ni-i* | REL-*sa* | MALUS<sub>1</sub>-*ta-à-ti* | VERSUS-*ia-na* | PES-*wa/i-*  
*ti-i*  
 § 25. NEG<sub>2</sub>-*pa-wa/i* <sup>1</sup>*ara/i-pa-ia* | REL-*sa* | ("CORNU")*tara/i-pa* | CRUS-*i*  
 § 26. *pa-pa-wa/i-*' (DEUS)*ku*+A[VIS . . .] (DEUS)[*i*]-*ia*-. . .

### Translation

- § 1. I (am) Arpas, Tarhunzas' honoured servant.  
 § 2. Celestial Tarhunzas and the Haranean Moon-God [. . . march]ed [before] me.  
 § 3. Where(?) my lord and brother shall . . . (for) me,  
 § 4. these gods shall walk with me for kingship,  
 § 5. the wild beasts shall(?) . . . (?) (for) me,  
 § 6. they shall PARAN ARHA HUHURPA- (them?).  
 § 7. And me the cities . . . not [. . .]  
 § 8. I myself made an image of the Sun-God.  
 § 9. I did not [. . .] my brother Hamiyatas,  
 § 10. I established his name with Tarhunzas  
 § 11. but I did not set him up (as) any figure,  
 § 12. and he gave . . . to me with goodness.  
 § 13. But whoever takes (it/them) away,  
 § 14. him may celestial Tarhunzas and the Haranean Moon-God curse!  
 § 15. For him let not [. . .] come down from the sky,  
 § 16. and let not MURUWATA(N)ZA come up from the earth!  
 § 17. (That) which I shall present to my brother in goodness,  
 § 18. whoever shall take it away from him,  
 § 19. whether he (be) a father to him,  
 § 20. or whether he (be) 274 [. . .],  
 § 21. against him may these gods be angry,  
 § 22. may they *get rid of* his name!  
 § 23. For the Haranean [Moon-God . . .] for [ma]le (and) female let his/their . . .-s  
*burn*(?) up [. . .]!  
 § 24. But who(ever) approaches this god with malice,  
 § 25. or who(ever) tramples(?) on Arpas,  
 § 26. him may Kupapa and Ea [. . .]



*Philological Notes*

§ 1. *ṽarpa-*: for this as an onomastic element found elsewhere only in late, compound names, see Houwink ten Cate, *LPG*, 147.

*mi-ta<sub>4</sub>-i-*: the peculiarity of this and other examples as compared with the usual *mi-ta<sub>4</sub>/ta<sub>5</sub>-* has been noted, *JRAS* 1975/2, 131 f.; compare also in this inscription *FRATER-la-i-* (§ 3) which, with other examples, regularly alternates with *FRATER-la-* (e.g. this inscription, § 9). Cun. Luwian seems to show the same alternation between *-a-* and *-ai-* stems: cf. the forms quoted in *DLL* for *wašha-*.

§ 2. Translation suggests the possible reading of the verb as (-)REL<sub>2</sub>-*ia-*, i.e. (*para*) *huiya-*, "run, march before".

§ 3. REL(?)*-ta*: conjunction not very well attested in this form, only in obscure contexts (SIRZI, 3; MARAŞ 1, 6; TOPADA, 6; CARCHEMISH A 30, a 2 and 4; A 27 k); but it may perhaps be identified with the better attested REL-*i-ta* (BABYLON stele 4; CARCHEMISH A 1 a, 1; A 1 b, 2 (reduplicated)) with a probable translation of "where(ver)"; and REL-*i-ta-na* (KARATEPE XX, 104; XXXIV, 178, translated by Phoen. (b) 'š, "where"); cf. also REL-*ta-ha* (ASSUR letter c, iii; letter g, "i" (properly iii)), which may also be translated "wherever".

§§ 4-6: passage treated by A. Morpurgo Davies and J. D. Hawkins, in *Studia . . . Meriggi*, Fig. 4 and commentary.

§ 4. REX-*tá/tà<sup>1</sup>-hi-tà*: form noted in *JRAS* 1975/2, 129, n. 18, apparently an example of the dative case in *-a*.

§ 5. Recognition of (BESTIA)REL<sub>2</sub>-*sà-ra/i-sa* as \**hwisar+sa*, "wild beasts" (nom./acc. sing. neuter), and the consequent identification of beginning of § 6 with *wa/i-ta*, leaves § 5 a very short clause. Options for the illegible word which seems to end in *-ia* are: (i) plur. neuter noun or adjective, predicated of \**hwisar-(sa)* (latter difficult—plur. neuter with sing. collective?); or preferably (ii) verb, 3rd sing. present in *-ia* (for which see now A. Morpurgo Davies, *Festschrift O. Szemerényi*, 577 ff.). A reading REL<sub>2</sub>.REL<sub>2</sub>-*ia*, "will run (to me)" would give some sense, but hardly agrees with the traces.

§ 6. Unclear are both subject ("it/they"—the gods, the wild beasts?) and object (*-ata*, "it/them"—the wild beasts?). For the verb *huhurpa-*, with derived form *huhurpali-*, see now M. Kalay, *KZ* 92 (1978), 124; contexts of the attestations seem hardly sufficient to determine range of meaning for root.

§ 8. (-)mi<sup>2</sup>(-)*za*: some doubt over presence of *ni*, though it is the most likely sign to read here; *-ni-za* does not however offer a recognizable phonetic complement to (DEUS)SOL (*tiwat-*); reading (DEUS)SOL-*za* perhaps possible.

*ta-ru-sa*, "statue": elsewhere always determined by CAPUT+VAS (*HH*, no. 12); but while a restoration of this is not absolutely excluded here, it seems more likely that the logogram is *HH*, no. 382, a determinative plausibly suggested by Gelb to mark objects made of wood, as Cun. GIŠ, the original pictogram of which it resembles (Gelb, *Hittite Hieroglyphs* III, 47 citation 8; cf. id., *A Study of Writing* (revised ed.; Chicago, 1963), Fig. 54, wood). A reading of *za* ("\*382")*ta-ru-sa*, "this statue", is perhaps possible.

(-)*si*: element unknown and difficult to explain, perhaps to be taken as suffixed to the ensuing copula *awa*; but it could be identified with the unexplained *-si* twice found following the verb (PES<sub>2</sub>)REL<sub>2</sub>.REL<sub>2</sub>-*sà-ta/tá(-si)* (cf. *An. St.* 25 (1975), 136 f.), which would strengthen the case for taking it with the verb here.

§§ 9-11: passage treated in *An. St.* 25 (1975), 134 and Fig. 1, 140.

§ 12. x-x-*sa*: presumably represents the subject for which one might expect *á-pa-sa*, "the latter", i.e. my brother Hamiyatas, but such a restoration hardly agrees with the traces. Nevertheless the brother must surely be understood as the subject, and the clause to relate to the reciprocal favours bestowed by him on Arpas.

*zi-i-x-x*: presumably the object of donation.



§§ 13–14: quoted by A. Morpurgo Davies, in *Festschrift Szemerényi*, 588.

§§ 15–16: quoted in *RHA* XXIX (1971), 115 f. and Fig. 4, 128 (old transliteration), in context of discussion of *awi-*, “come”.

§ 17. FRATER(-)X[. . .]-X: the possibility that the first sign after the logogram is *á* suggests that what followed might have been the full phonetic writing of the word for “brother”; which, had it been preserved, would have established whether or not this was *á-ta<sub>5</sub>-la-* (*HH*, no. 45/III; contra *Glossar*<sub>2</sub>, 43, s.v. *á-ti-la-i*; cf. also *An. St.* 29 (1979), 159, n. 51).

§ 18. *-pa-wa/i-tú-wa/i-tà-ta*: Meriggi (*Manuale* II/2, 244) has commented on the interesting accumulation of particles, (*-pa+wa*), *+tu* (“for him”) *+ata* (“it”) *+ta* (= Cun. Luw. *-tta*, Hitt. *-kan*).

§ 19. Grammatical structure is sufficiently clear: *ma(n)-* (“whether”) *+wa*, *+tu* (“to him”) *+as* (“he”) “(is) a father”. The sense of this clause is perhaps to be sought in the literary topos of “becoming father to kings” (e.g. KARATEPE, XVIII).

§ 20. *HH*, no. 274: of the two words attested as determined by this logogram, the verb *hatali-*, “smite” is clearly irrelevant to the context; the other, (\*274)*upatit-* is discussed above, TELL AHMAR 1, note on § 8. Some derived form of the latter might be appropriate here, “*upatit-man*” or the like.

§ 22. “DOMUS+*RA/I*”-*tú*: all other Late Period attestations of this verb write it as a causative form in *-nu/nú* (see *HH*, no. 248; *Glossar*<sub>2</sub>, 95; and add ADIYAMAN 1, 4; MEHARDE, rev. 2). EMIRGAZI, however, besides a DOMUS+*RA/I-nú-wa/i-ha* (V, 3), has a form DOMUS+*RA/I-i/ia* (B, 3; see *An. St.* 25 (1975), 129 f.), apparently 3rd sing. present of the simple verb. It is probably a writing of this simple verb which is to be understood here, and it, too, like the EMIRGAZI attestation is transitive.

§ 23. *ha+ra/i-na-wa/i-ni-*: expected to be followed by (DEUS)LUNA, this form is presumably dative, since although it could be accusative, it is hard to envisage a clause in this context of which “the Haranean Moon-god” could be the object.

Order of reading of signs and divisions of words in the following group is somewhat uncertain. I have chosen the one which seems to offer best hope of understanding the structure of the clause. For suffixes, cf. *An. St.* 25 (1975), 143 citation 50.

[. . .]-*ia-ti* FEMINA-*ti-ia-ti*: the restoration “to/for the Haranean Moon-god” suggests the further restoration [*tanimi-ha masani* VIR-*ti-ia-ti* FEMINA-*ti-ia-ti*, “[and to/for every god ma]le (and) female”.

X-*zi*: unidentified logogram resembling \*477 (FLAMMAE(?)) inside rectangle.

(FLAMMAE(?))*ki-n[ú]-sà-tú*: the verb *arha kinuwa-* is used elsewhere of offering animals to gods (CEKKE, obv. top, 1–2, read *ki-[nu]-wa/i-ti*; MARAŞ 3, 2; MARAŞ 5, read *ki-nu'-wa/i-ti*) perhaps by burning as is suggested partly by context and partly by the supposition that the logogram *HH*, no. 477 represents “flames” (cf. *An. St.* 25 (1975), 138 for (\*477)*laslas-*, (\*477)*lazali-*).

In the present state of this clause it is impossible to determine the subject (X-*zi apasinzi* or something else?) and object (X-*zi apasinzi* or something else?).

§§ 24–25: already handled in *An. St.* 25 (1975), 146 and Fig. 4.

### *Analysis of historical content*

If the interpretations given above are correct, the following historical sequence may be reconstructed from a combination of the texts of the TELL AHMAR stelae.

Someone, apparently Ariyahinas’s grandfather, Hapatilas, was king (T.A. 1, § 7), and exercised extensive power (T.A. 1, §§ 8–9, also § 14), but died in the land of Ana (T.A. 1, § 10). He was succeeded by Ariyahinas, of whose minority a kinsman(?) took advantage, to usurp power (*salha(n)za*—T.A. 1, §§ 11–12). The usurper (who may have been Masuwarazas)

was succeeded by his son Hamiyatas (T.A. 1, § 13; T.A. 2, § 1, and cf. above, footnotes 4 and 5) and the latter was able to claim to have inherited his father's power (*salha(n)za*—T.A. 2, § 4). As king, Hamiyatas inscribed and set up the Storm-God stele T.A. 2, from which such historical content as it once had has now been largely lost. During his reign Hamiyatas seems to have made some amends to the dispossessed line, since after promoting(?) Ariyahinas's son over his great-grandfather in relation to power (*salha(n)za*—T.A. 1, § 14), he made him lord of his house and greater than his own brothers, so that everyone obeyed him (T.A. 1, §§ 15–17). But after Hamiyatas's death (T.A. 1, § 18), his son reversed this conciliatory policy, decreeing evil for Ariyahinas's son and plotting against him (T.A. 1, §§ 19–20). The latter reacted with an appeal to the Storm-God of Heaven in a long prayer, mostly lost (T.A. 1, §§ 21–24'), which he concluded by vowing to dedicate his enemy's (i.e. Hamiyatas's son's) daughter as a hierodule to the god. Tarhunzas heard him, and handed over to him his enemy, on whom he wrought vengeance (T.A. 1, §§ 25'–27'), thereby presumably falling under the curse of Hamiyatas (T.A. 2, l. 7; cf. *An. St.* 25 (1975), 147, citation 56 a (iii)). He seems to have carried out the threat to his enemy's daughter (T.A. 1, § 29'), at which point the text breaks off. Needless to say, Ariyahinas's son must have become king in order to have inscribed the whole story on stone.

If the Hamiyatas of TELL AHMAR 1 and 2 is indeed to be identified with his namesake on ALEPPO 2, he had during his reign a brother Arpas, who, while acknowledging his supremacy ("my lord and brother, Hamiyatas"), and performing on his behalf various dedicatory acts recorded in the inscription itself, seems to have expected to succeed his brother as king. Perhaps he expressed this ambition too openly which may have led to his demotion in favour of Ariyahinas's son. At all events, Arpas cannot have been pleased at Hamiyatas's action as recorded in T.A. 1, § 16.

#### *Date and stylistic considerations*

As far as the internal chronology of the period covered by these inscriptions goes, Ariyahinas's son, the author of the later stele, harks back to the reign of his great-grandfather, in succession to whom his father seems to have reigned but only briefly in his youth. Parallel to these four "legitimate" generations (great-grandfather, Hapatilas; father, Ariyahinas; son), three "usurping" generations are mentioned (father; son, Hamiyatas; grandson). The total period covered by the narrative can hardly have been less than a century.

The problem of fitting the TELL AHMAR stelae and their inscriptions in with the general history has been spelt out very clearly by Ussishkin.<sup>16</sup> Briefly summarized, it is that Til-Barsip is only attested textually in Assyrian sources of the period as the "royal city" or "fortified city"<sup>17</sup> of Ahuni of Bit-Adini (*ʾaḥuni DUMU ʾadini*)<sup>18</sup> an Aramean opponent of Aššurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III, who ruled from at least c. 870 B.C. until his deposition in 856 B.C. Thereafter Til-Barsip, renamed Kar-Shalmaneser, remained a permanent Assyrian stronghold on the Euphrates. It can hardly be seriously doubted that the stelae antedate the time of Ahuni. Yet it is also hard to understand how these Neo-Hittite stelae could belong to an Aramean tribal state like Bit-Adini. The loss of the Hieroglyphic name of the kingdom from both the stelae is particularly unfortunate for this problem.

Stylistically, as recognized by Ussishkin, the stelae belong closely with the Suhis-Katuwas style at Carchemish, lying only some 12 miles up-stream, and the date of the

<sup>16</sup> Loc. cit., above, footnote 3.

<sup>17</sup> See Y. Ikeda, *Iraq* 41 (1979), 76 f.

<sup>18</sup> The tribal designation *DUMU ʾadini*, "of Bit-Adini", is typically Aramean, and the PN *ʾaḥuni*, "our brother" generally Semitic. There is, of course, no possibility of identifying the name with any appearing in the Hieroglyphic stelae—see above note on TELL AHMAR 1, § 1.

latter assemblage, though generally accepted as prior to Aššurnasirpal II, cannot be pushed too far back into the tenth century B.C. on account of its links with other later groups.<sup>19</sup> All in all, a date of c. 900 B.C. ± is probable both for the Carchemish sequence and the Til-Barsip pieces. However, the existence of Bit-Adini is first attested in 899 B.C.,<sup>20</sup> and strong Aramean presence on the Euphrates in the reign of Aššur-rabi II (c. 1012–972 B.C.).<sup>21</sup>

While the sculptural style as well as the script, language and pantheon of the TELL AHMAR stelae point unequivocally to a purely Neo-Hittite/Hier. Luwian character, some doubts have been raised in the past about the connections of the personal names found in the inscriptions. As regards these names, *Hapatila-*, *Ariyahina-*, *Hamiyata-*, *Masuwara-*, and also *Arpa-*, while few of their component elements can be unequivocally identified as Anatolian (Hittite-Luwian), the overall impression is of names of an Anatolian type, and such a characterization is indeed much more probable than Hurrian<sup>22</sup> or Semitic<sup>23</sup> identifications.

So can this art and these names and inscriptions be envisaged as belonging to members of Bit-Adini earlier than Ahuni, or should they be regarded as intrusive? I think in general we must agree with Ussishkin's advocacy of the latter view. One further point, however, should be considered, and that is that there is no evidence that the city Til-Barsip itself belonged to the Aramean state of Bit-Adini before the time of Ahuni. Indeed I think we may best take the "Hittite" character of these monuments as evidence that it did not, and suppose that the Til-Barsip monuments represent not an intrusive Hittite dynasty within Bit-Adini itself, but a surviving Hittite enclave in an area increasingly under Aramean control. Thus the city itself would have fallen to Bit-Adini at the latest in the reign of Ahuni, and the period of Aramean domination of the city was probably of short duration, which would explain why, unlike the Neo-Hittite and Assyrian period it is poorly represented in the surviving monuments.<sup>24</sup>

#### ADDENDA

I am very grateful to Dr. F. Starke for the following observations.

1. (Above, p. 148). Starke proposes to interpret the word as *salha(n)za*, and to associate it with cun. Luw. *šalhati*, and the Luwism in Cun. Hittite *šalhitti-*, "growth" (cf. Oettinger, *Stammbildung*, 550 § 482).

2. (Above, p. 149). Cun. Luw. readings confirmed by collation.

3. (Above, p. 150). Starke proposes to interpret *MALUS<sub>1</sub>-wa/i-za* as \**atuwa(n)za* and compares Cun. Luw. *adduwanza*. This would represent a simple root \**atu-*, and the other forms noted extensions in *-it(i)*, i.e. \**atuwit(i)-*.

4. (Above, p. 151). Starke compares *KBo VII 68(+)* 69, ii 19': *iššara aritt[a]*, "he raised the hands" (cf. Meriggi, *WZKM* 53 (1957), 210 n. 45). The implied identification of Cun. Luw. *ari-* with Hier. *PUGNUS-ri+i-* will be explored in a forthcoming paper.

<sup>19</sup> See Orthmann, *Untersuchungen zur späteth. Kunst*, 46 ff.; also recently H. Genge, *Nordsyrisch-sudanatolische Reliefs* (Copenhagen, 1979), 52 f.

<sup>20</sup> Grayson, *ARI* II, § 426.

<sup>21</sup> III R 8, col. ii 35 ff. = *ARAB* I, § 603.

<sup>22</sup> E.g. that of Landsberger, *Sam'al*, 34, n. 70 (*Hapatila-* = \**Hepa-atal*).

<sup>23</sup> E.g. that of Barnett, *Carchemish* III, 263 (*Hamiyata-* = <sup>1</sup>/<sub>KUR</sub> *hamataya*, "the Hamathite").

<sup>24</sup> The excavators seem to have no special grounds for identifying the pre-Assyrian remains as Aramean other than the *a priori* assumption that the city was Aramean before the Assyrian conquest (*Til-Barsib*, ch. IV A, esp. pp. 94 f.).

## ASPECTS OF THE EXCAVATIONS IN THE ALTINOVA, ELAZIG<sup>Y</sup>

By CHARLES BURNEY

Anyone associated for twenty years and more with Anatolian archaeology through the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, and thus with *Anatolian Studies*, has ample reason for respect and gratitude for the long, patient and understanding editorship of this journal by Oliver Gurney. For many years he has proved that efficiency and humanity can go hand in hand; and that the light touch on the editorial helm is normally sufficient. Perhaps at some sacrifice of his own interests, he has a record of service to Anatolian scholarship quite unsurpassed in our time, for to him is due the shape of *Anatolian Studies* as we have long known it.

This necessarily brief appraisal of aspects of the work achieved in the area of the Keban Rescue Project, under the overall auspices of the Middle East Technical University, Ankara, concentrates its attention especially upon the excavations at one site. The results of these have now been published in part in final form, with praiseworthy speed.<sup>1</sup> The writer is responding to a request for a review of these publications. To attempt such a review without reference to the other reports on this site of Korucutepe, or in total isolation from the many other excavations by different teams in the same area, would of course be of little value and less interest. Yet the literature is by now so great, if in some degree repetitive, and the cultural implications for surrounding regions are so far-reaching, that a definitive assessment can scarcely be approached, and must await the final publications of the other excavations.

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<sup>1</sup>*Final Reports on Korucutepe* (Studies in Ancient Civilization: Allard Pierson Foundation, Amsterdam)

Maurits N. van Loon (ed.): *Korucutepe I* (North-Holland Publishing Co., Amsterdam, 1975):

[Part I: J. Boessneck & A. von den Driesch: "Tiernochnenfundes vom Korucutepe bei Elazig in Ostanatolien", pp. 1–220. (Fundmaterial der Grabungen 1968 und 1969.)

Part II: W. van Zeist & J. A. H. Bakker-Heeres: "Prehistoric and early historic plant husbandry in the Altinova Plain, southeastern Turkey", pp. 221–57.]

Maurits N. van Loon (ed.): *Korucutepe II* (North-Holland Publishing Co., Amsterdam, 1978):

[Part III: — Maurits N. van Loon: Architecture and Stratigraphy (pp. 3–45) (Phases A–B) — Carol M. Bier: The Fortification Wall (pp. 47–53)

Part IV: — Roelof W. Brandt: The Chalcolithic Pottery (pp. 57–60)

— Roelof W. Brandt: The other Chalcolithic finds (pp. 61–63)

Part V: — Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati: The Early Bronze Age pottery — descriptive and comparative analysis (pp. 67–88)

— Elizabeth E. Griffin & Maurits N. van Loon: Early Bronze Age awls, pins, needles, spindles and whorls (pp. 89–95)

— Maurits N. van Loon: The other Early Bronze Age finds (pp. 97–110).

Bibliography: pp. 111–15

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Plates 1–142.]

### *Preliminary Reports*

Maurits N. van Loon *et al.*: "The excavations at Korucutepe, Turkey, 1968–70: Preliminary Report" (J.N.E.S. XXXII (1973), pp. 135–47, 357–444; and XXXIII (1974), pp. 44–115).

Maurits N. van Loon *et al.*: reports in *Middle East Technical University Publications*, Series 1, nos. 1 (1968 season), 2 (1969 season) and 3 (1970 season), pp. 89–102, 59–69, 83–85 respectively. (KPP)

Maurits N. van Loon, Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati & H. G. Güterbock: brief reports in T.A.D. 17 (1968), pp. 79–82; 18 (1969), pp. 123–28; 19 (1970), pp. 127–32.

The High Dam rescue projects in Nubia twenty years ago marked the opening of a new era in Near Eastern archaeology, in which rescue work has become ever more pressing a necessity, not only in the Nile valley but also in Iraq, Syria and Turkey, in each country resulting from ambitious dam-building schemes. Fortunately for archaeological recovery, such schemes have tended to require a longer time-span than originally envisaged, as geological or engineering factors have supervened. The Keban Dam, the first of a series planned for the upper Euphrates down to the Syrian frontier, was no exception, with difficulties caused by the limestone strata. Consequently there was more time for manoeuvre for the expeditions involved, whether in the fertile plain immediately east of the modern city of Elaziğ, known as Altınova, or in the lowermost reaches of the Murat River, the ancient Arsania. Korucutepe itself lies in the Altınova, some twenty-five kilometres east of Elaziğ. Its choice, as one of the five or so most important prehistoric settlement mounds in the district, was a natural one for the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, supported by the University of California and (for the second and third seasons) by the University of Amsterdam. Both in his senior assistants and in his staff as a whole Maurits van Loon was deservedly fortunate.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, one of the interesting sidelights is the recruitment of an American-Dutch-Turkish excavation team; and the mention of the leading local workers is commendable. Too often these go unsung.<sup>3</sup>

Inevitably considerable overlapping of results from excavations so closely contiguous to one another has occurred. Nor can Korucutepe be reckoned the foremost site in the area: that accolade has to be awarded to Norşuntepe.<sup>4</sup> This does not, however, detract from its wide-ranging significance. Nor does it give wholly adequate support for the decision to finish the excavations after three seasons, instead of continuing them as long as those at other sites in the rescue area: it is not entirely remarkable that this decision has caused comment.<sup>5</sup> This impinges on the major problem of the stage at which the excavation of any Near Eastern mound can fairly be said to have reached a logical conclusion, a problem all the more critical in the context of a rescue operation. Perhaps the most serious criticism of the Oriental Institute expedition's work at Korucutepe is that it was brought to an end after three productive seasons (1968, 1969, 1970), excavations being later resumed on a limited scale by a Turkish expedition.<sup>6</sup> A more adventurous approach to the laying out of the trenches, instead of an orthodox adherence to the so-called Wheeler method of grid squares individually excavated and supervised, might have yielded more conclusive results in terms of the architecture.<sup>7</sup> Yet it has to be remembered that it is only in the last decade or so that wider horizontal areas of excavation, or stripping, have become the accepted norm in Europe, and thus once again respectable practice in the Near East.

<sup>2</sup> *Korucutepe II*, pp. 3–5.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5, with reference to excavation by layers 25 cm. thick.

<sup>4</sup> Among the many reports on Norşuntepe may be cited those in *Middle East Technical University Publications* (KPP) 1968–1972; in TAD XXIII (1976), pp. 65–86; and briefer reports in A.S., especially “Norşuntepe, 1974” (A.S. XXV (1975), pp. 35–8).

<sup>5</sup> A.S. XXIV (1974), p. 38.

<sup>6</sup> Hayri Ertem: “Korucutepe, 1973” (A.S. XXIV (1974), pp. 38–40); “Korucutepe, 1974” (A.S. XXV (1975), pp. 31–2); and “Korucutepe, 1975” (A.S. XXVI (1976), pp. 47–9). By the 1975 season the waters were starting to engulf the site, whose summit still stands above the lake created by the dam.

<sup>7</sup> *Korucutepe II*, p. 5.

Any attempt to review, however superficially, the publications to date of the Korucutepe excavations and their setting in a wider context comes at once up against the very long time-span, from early prehistory to medieval times, of the Altınova and more outlying sites within the frontiers of the Keban Rescue Project. Thus one also has to face controversial and complex questions of absolute chronology, still very much to the forefront in different regions of the Near East, with reactions against recent suggestions of an ultra-high chronology.<sup>8</sup> This upward revision by several centuries for the Early Bronze Age and preceding periods seems to present no insuperable difficulties for Anatolia, including the Elazığ region, though long-accepted ideas of relative chronology have to be modified: for example, the Alaca Hüyük tombs have to be dated earlier than the Royal Cemetery of Ur. Among the radiocarbon dates supporting the ultra-high chronology favoured by Mellaart and Easton are those from the Italian excavations at Arslantepe, close to Malatya.<sup>9</sup> This site provides a useful sequence for close comparison with the evidence from the sites within the limits of the Keban Rescue Project.<sup>10</sup> Arslantepe and Tepecik alike have revealed clear indications of the presence of Late Uruk elements, indicating Mesopotamian economic penetration, comparable perhaps with that discovered at Tepe Yahya as well as elsewhere in southern Iran.<sup>11</sup> Tepecik is especially significant for the occurrence of a fruitstand of Alişar Hüyük type in association with bevelled-rim bowls, the hallmark of the Late Uruk culture: this provides very welcome evidence for the dating of the hitherto rather isolated central Anatolian "Late Chalcolithic" culture of Alişar, Alaca and other less familiar sites.<sup>12</sup> All this evidence for raising the absolute chronology previously in vogue makes it hard to understand the adherence in the Korucutepe final reports to an obsolete dating, with the Early Bronze Age ascribed precisely to the whole length of the third millennium B.C., no more and no less.<sup>13</sup> This is even reflected in the title of a future publication on the Early Trans-Caucasian culture, with inapposite geographical terminology.<sup>14</sup> While it must be admitted that the dating given for the Early Bronze Age at Norşuntepe is not very different, c. 3000–2200 B.C., a cylinder-seal impression of Jemdet Nasr type, with seals themselves, in the earliest of the E.B. I levels is but one indication that such a dating for the beginning of the Early Bronze sequence in the area of the Keban Dam could be too low.<sup>15</sup> Nor are there any radiocarbon dates from Norşuntepe to clarify matters. For these Arslantepe remains the most significant site in the whole Elazığ-Malatya region. Its far-

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<sup>8</sup>(a) James Mellaart: "Egyptian and Near Eastern chronology – a dilemma?" (*Antiquity* LIII (1979), pp. 6–18); (b) D. F. Easton: "Towards a chronology for the Anatolian Early Bronze Age" (A.S. XXVI (1976), pp. 145–73).

<sup>9</sup> Easton: A.S. XXVI (1976), p. 169.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., pp. 170–1; and *Korucutepe II*, p. 8.

<sup>11</sup> C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky: (1) "The Proto-Elamite settlement at Tepe Yahya" (*Iran* IX (1971), pp. 87–96); (2) "The Proto-Elamites on the Iranian plateau" (*Antiquity* LII (1978), pp. 114–20).

<sup>12</sup>(a) Fruitstand: KPP 1972, Pl. 72(4); (b) Bevelled rim bowls: KPP 1971, Pl. 107(3) and KPP 1972, Pl. 73(2). For a bold discussion, Thomas Wight Beale: "Bevelled rim bowls and their implications for change and economic organization in the later fourth millennium B.C." (J.N.E.S. XXXVII (1978), pp. 289–313). Only indirectly relevant to the Altınova sites.

<sup>13</sup> *Korucutepe II*, p. 6 (table I).

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 74 (note 2).

<sup>15</sup> H. Hauptmann: A.S. XXV (1975), p. 37.

flung connections flourished even in the Late Chalcolithic period, through its obsidian trade.<sup>16</sup>

An attempt to classify the settlements in the Altınova into villages, towns and a large central city (Norşuntepe) was made some years ago as a result of an intensive survey. Statistical analysis of surface material, both pottery and flints, in large quantities formed the basis for this classification, a worthwhile exercise.<sup>17</sup> Whatever qualifications may be necessary to this assessment, in one period, Early Bronze III, Norşuntepe was preeminent: then there was an impressive public building with storerooms for the produce of the surrounding countryside, conforming to a widespread pattern of small principalities in the later Early Bronze Age of Anatolia. Korucutepe was never so preeminent in this period.

Van Loon is commendably cautious on the dating of the successive strata, differentiated in three separate areas of excavation at Korucutepe, when he states that "these dates are meant to indicate the time limits within which the occupation must have occurred, but they do not imply that occupation lasted for the full length of that time, nor that the full length of occupation has been revealed by our excavations".<sup>18</sup> Such a qualification would be fittingly appended to most prehistoric excavations in the Near East, but is often lacking, with resultant confusion for relative chronology. Naturally such confusion was the more easily averted by the comparative evidence available from the other sites. On the whole more significance should be attached to the sequence of cultural phases (A–L) distinguished at Korucutepe than to the 140 strata making up those phases.

The early wealth of the Elazığ region is suggested by the occurrence of silver jewellery among grave-goods from the cemetery of Phase B, associated with pottery which can be paralleled in Gawra XI–IX, and thus with an Uruk cultural context.<sup>19</sup> Although these proved to be the only burials found at Korucutepe, they clearly demonstrate the prosperity of the region in the fourth millennium B.C., indicated also by the contemporary traces of metallurgical activity at Tepecik.<sup>20</sup> While the record from Korucutepe alone could not suffice for any far-reaching conclusions on the Late Chalcolithic period, there is now enough evidence of penetration of the region by Late Uruk traders, in the form of the ubiquitous bevelled-rim bowl and of distinctive architecture, notably at Arslantepe (Malatya), for it to be reasonable to see Korucutepe, with the surrounding settlements, as having fallen with the "greater prosperity sphere" of the Sumerian merchants from Mesopotamia, or at least of their cousins settled on the banks of the middle Euphrates, in the area recently the scene of extensive rescue excavations within Syria.<sup>21</sup> The impetus for this penetration from the south must have been strong: the likeliest explanation lies in the quest for metals. The silver of Korucutepe B most probably originated in the nearest known source, in the Taurus range above the Cilician plain. This is made the more probable by the evidence of cultural contacts with central Anatolia at Tepecik;<sup>22</sup>

<sup>16</sup> M. Fornaseri *et al.*: "Analyses of obsidians from the Late Chalcolithic levels of Arslantepe (Malatya)" (*Paléorient* 3 (1975–77), pp. 231–46).

<sup>17</sup> R. Whallon and S. Kantman: "Early Bronze Age development in the Keban Reservoir, east-central Turkey" (*Current Anthropology* X (1969), pp. 128–33). Cf. *eidem*: KPP 1968, pp. 1–12.

<sup>18</sup> *Korucutepe II*, p. 6.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 61–2.

<sup>20</sup> U. Esin: A.S. XXV (1975), p. 47.

<sup>21</sup> For bibliography of the Euphrates excavations, R. Dornemann: "Tell Hadidi – a Bronze Age city on the Euphrates" (*Archaeology* 31(6) (1978), pp. 20–6).

<sup>22</sup> See notes 12 and 20.



and likewise by incised pottery in the Malatya region, notably at Gelinciktepe, which is undoubtedly comparable with wares from Büyük Güllücek and Alaca Hüyük.<sup>23</sup> Indeed it now seems that the advent of the Early Trans-Caucasian culture in the Malatya region came rather later than at first thought. Much depends on the precise context of the remarkable shrine at Arslantepe, Mesopotamian in general layout but scarcely so in its decoration.<sup>24</sup> All the available data point to a conjunction of Mesopotamian-Syrian and central Anatolian elements in the Altınova in the later or mid-fourth millennium B.C. In addition to copper from nearby Ergani Maden and silver from the Taurus, gold seems to have been obtainable from alluvial deposits in the lower Murat valley perhaps even as early as this period, and very possibly here was a major and continuing source for the Sumerian cities.<sup>25</sup>

It is unfortunate that time did not allow the excavation of all the strata visible before or as the outcome of the work of the Oriental Institute expedition. Ten strata (XLV–LIV) comprised five metres' depth of unexcavated deposit, and could possibly include the Early Bronze I phase absent at Korucutepe, where the Late Chalcolithic settlement went up in flames, but well known (as van Loon recognizes) at Norşuntepe and Taşkun Mevkii.<sup>26</sup> Relief-decorated ware of Early Trans-Caucasian (ETC) type is, however, present in a house attributable to the end of Korucutepe C.<sup>27</sup>

There are a number of parallels in sites far removed from the Keban Dam area with the Early Bronze remains found at Korucutepe D–F. The presence of imported pottery in small quantities, including wheelmade "Akkadian ware" found at Tell Brak and elsewhere and simple wheelmade ware of Amuq I–J type, is insignificant in quantitative terms, though hardly so in its implications.<sup>28</sup> At this time, or for part of it at least, Ebla must have reached out its commercial arm as far as the Altınova, presumably in search of raw materials for its prosperous metal-working industry.<sup>29</sup> The effect of such economic activity may possibly be reflected in the architectural change apparent at the opening of the Early Bronze IIIA phase (Korucutepe E), when a more substantial structure on stone foundations, on a different orientation, was built in Stratum LXXVIII, overlying the earlier remains of burnt houses of Korucutepe D. This appearance of more impressive architecture, following a long sequence of less substantial structures with repeated burning, an indication of political insecurity, is a general parallel with two sites in north-western Iran, Haftavan and Yanik Tepe, where the round houses of the ETC II phase (Haftavan VIII and the phase originally termed "Early Bronze I" at Yanik Tepe) are succeeded by rectangular plans, manifest in buildings altogether more massive and subject to periodic alterations and additions

<sup>23</sup> Alba Palmieri: "Insediamento del Bronzo Antico a Gelinciktepe (Malatya)" (*Origini* I (1967), pp. 117–93). See especially fig. 17 (p. 151).

<sup>24</sup> Alba Palmieri: "Scavi nell' area sud-occidentale di Arslantepe — ritrovamento di una struttura templare dell' Antica Eta' del Bronzo" (*Origini* VII (1973), pp. 55–228). See especially figs. 56–63. The pottery (e.g. fig. 66) is clearly not all of ETC type: west or central Anatolian affinities are now thought more probable.

<sup>25</sup> K. R. Maxwell-Hyslop: "Sources of Sumerian gold" (*Iraq* XXXIX (1977), pp. 83–6).

<sup>26</sup> *Korucutepe II*, p. 12.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13 and Chapter 5.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 68.

<sup>29</sup> G. Pettinato: "Testi cuneiformi del 3. millennio in paleo-Cananeo rinvenuti nella campagna 1974 a Tell Mardikh = Ebla" (*Orientalia* XLIV (1975), pp. 361–74) (p. 365). For a partial rebuttal, Robert Biggs: "The Ebla tablets: an interim perspective" (*Biblical Archaeologist* 43/2 (1980), pp. 76–87).



rather than total rebuilding.<sup>30</sup> The whole appearance of these later building phases (Haftavan VII and Yanik Tepe "Early Bronze II") suggests a peaceful period (ETC III), with two sub-phases distinguished in the Altınova, as Early Bronze IIIA and IIIB. It is of course perhaps only a coincidence, given the great distance separating the Urmia basin from the Altınova, that a similar phenomenon seems discernible in the latter region: there the great "palace", better to be termed a governmental residence and probably serving as an administrative centre and certainly as a depot for goods stored in rows of pithoi, is the dominant feature of the ETC III period in Norşuntepe, especially in Level VI.<sup>31</sup> Yet it has to be remembered that the vast Early Trans-Caucasian cultural zone extended further even than from north-western Iran and the Caucasus to the Altınova, for it embraced also the districts around Arslantepe (Malatya), quite apart from the controversial "Khirbet Kerak problem".<sup>32</sup>

The outstanding feature of the Early Trans-Caucasian culture is the pottery, handmade, burnished, often decorated and either black to grey or red to yellowish brown in colour, in simplified terms. This is discussed in admirable detail by Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati, who attempts also to put it in its wider cultural context, though there is promise of a definitive treatment yet to come of the ETC culture as a whole.<sup>33</sup> An earlier examination of this pottery from Korucutepe had led to the suggestion, correctly disputed by Kelly-Buccellati, that all the ETC pottery was originally black, turning red or yellow only as a result of secondary or accidental fire.<sup>34</sup> The evidence from Yanik Tepe provides ample corroboration for the refutation of this theory, much of the incised ware from the round houses and courtyards being of a reddish colour in original firing.<sup>35</sup> As stressed by van Loon and Kelly-Buccellati, the burnished ETC pottery continued as the predominant ware even after the appearance of a distinctive painted pottery in Stratum LXXVIII, significantly the very same stratum in which the marked architectural change occurred. At Norşuntepe this pottery has been clearly assigned to the earlier sub-phase (Early Bronze IIIA),<sup>36</sup> a subdivision not unnaturally indistinguishable from the results of the writer's necessarily rather cursory survey in 1956.<sup>37</sup> At Korucutepe this painted pottery was apparently restricted in excavated context to the area of the hall in square O 14, with none found on the surface of the mound.<sup>38</sup> Its limited distribution could be a hint, along with the clearer evidence of the architecture, of the lesser rank of Korucutepe compared

<sup>30</sup> C. A. Burney: (1) "Excavations at Haftavan Tepe 1973" (*Iran* XIII (1975), pp. 149–64); (2) "Excavations at Yanik Tepe, Azerbaijan" (*Iraq* XXIII (1961), pp. 138–55; XXIV (1962), pp. 134–53; XXVI (1964), pp. 76–87).

<sup>31</sup> Harald Hauptmann: KPP 1972, Pl. 59 (fig. 1).

<sup>32</sup> (a) Ian A. Todd: "Anatolia and the Khirbet Kerak problem", in H. A. Hoffner (ed.): *Orient and Occident – Essays Presented to Cyrus H. Gordon* (1973), pp. 181–206; (b) Ruth Amiran: "Yanik Tepe, Shengavit and the Khirbet Kerak ware" (*A.S.* XV (1965), pp. 165–7); (c) Güven Arsebük: "Altınova' da Elaziğ koyu yuzlu ackili ve Karaz turu çömlek arasındaki ilişkiler" (*VIII Türk Tarih Kongresi* (Ankara, 1979), pp. 81–92 and figs. 45–52. The English summary is entitled "The possible origins of Karaz (Khirbet Kerak) type of pottery").

<sup>33</sup> (a) *Korucutepe II*, pp. 67–88; (b) note 14; (c) Marilyn Buccellati and Ernestine S. Elster: "Statistics in archaeology and its application to ancient Near Eastern data" (*Orientalia* XLII (1973) (Gelb Volume), pp. 195–211).

<sup>34</sup> *Korucutepe II*, pp. 68–9, *contra* J.N.E.S. XXXII (1973), p. 364.

<sup>35</sup> E.g. *Iraq* XXIII (1961), p. 151 and Plate LXXII (figs. 28–30).

<sup>36</sup> (a) *Korucutepe II*, p. 18; (b) KPP 1971, Pl. 79 (nos. 4–9).

<sup>37</sup> C. A. Burney: "Eastern Anatolia in the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age" (*A.S.* VIII (1958), pp. 157–209), especially 193 ff.

<sup>38</sup> *Korucutepe II*, p. 19.

with Norşuntepe in Early Bronze IIIA, possibly because Norşuntepe had by then become the *karum* for the Eblaite and Akkadian merchants seeking metals from the region. Discovery of an archive alone could give conclusive proof in support of this suggestion. The economic context of Korucutepe E seems, however, fairly clear in general outline. The long isolation of the ETC I–II periods in the Elaziğ-Malatya region had come to an end: once again, as in the days of the Late Uruk-period trading network, the lands around Korucutepe had been brought into the more sophisticated milieu of north Syria and Mesopotamia. This is made the more plausible not only from the historical evidence but also from the parallels with painted pottery to the south, especially that of Alalakh XVI–VIII, even if these are not very close.<sup>39</sup> Again the evidence is consistent with trading links between Ebla and other north Syrian cities, on the one hand, and the Elaziğ region and beyond, on the other, even if the more exaggerated claims for the power of Ebla can be discounted.<sup>40</sup> The new painted pottery of Korucutepe E and Early Bronze IIIA Norşuntepe is striking evidence of the breakup, more gradual than drastic, of the old unity of the Early Trans-Caucasian zone; but the population as a whole probably changed very little, if at all. The affinities of that population have been a subject of discussion over some years: Hurrian or not, they are too problematical to be argued here.<sup>41</sup>

The economy of the Elaziğ region was not solely dependent on food-production, supplemented by hunting. Fishing is curiously lacking documentation in the known corpus of faunal material in *Korucutepe I*. Metallurgy, particularly evident in the workshops of Norşuntepe XIX and VII, was very poorly represented at Korucutepe, with no traces of working on the site: as at sites such as Yanik Tepe, the absence of burials, found at Korucutepe only in Phase B, is the obvious explanation, although Norşuntepe was clearly a centre of industrial and commercial activity.<sup>42</sup> The working of bone and antler, for awls and picks and needles, as well as pottery spindle-whorls, is typical of the economy of Early Trans-Caucasian sites, including Yanik Tepe in the time of the round houses (ETC II phase).<sup>43</sup>

A synthesis of artifactual and faunal remains is exemplified by the occurrence of the bones of cranes among the faunal material and by their probable representation on the relief-decorated pottery of Korucutepe D (Early Bronze IIB), roughly contemporary with the birds and animals so much a feature of the incised motifs on the pottery associated with the round houses of Yanik Tepe.<sup>44</sup> Crane bones occur in Korucutepe D and I–J (Late Bronze I–II), but presumably this source of game was exploited at other times too. The proportion of unstratified faunal remains makes this inevitably uncertain. Ecological studies have been prominent among the achievements of the various expeditions involved in the Keban Rescue Project, including research on the problem of deforestation.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>39</sup> A.S. VIII (1958), p. 175.

<sup>40</sup> Paolo Matthiae: *Ebla – Un Impero Ritrovato* (Turin, 1977), pp. 235–53; and cf. fig. 47 (p. 191).

<sup>41</sup> Charles Burney and David Marshall Lang: *The Peoples of the Hills* (London, 1971), pp. 48–51.

<sup>42</sup> (a) Almut von Gladiss and Harald Hauptmann: “Norşuntepe” (*Antike Welt* 1974/2, pp. 9–19); (b) Moulds from Arslantepe: *Origini* VII (1973), pp. 134–5; (c) Metallurgical remains: H. Hauptmann: A.S. XXV (1975), p. 37.

<sup>43</sup> *Iraq* XXIV (1962), p. 141; cf. *Korucutepe II*, p. 93.

<sup>44</sup> (a) *Korucutepe II*, p. 109; (b) see note 30.

<sup>45</sup> G. H. Wilcox: “A history of deforestation as indicated by charcoal analysis of four sites in eastern Anatolia” (A.S. XXIV (1974), pp. 117–33).

Cattle, sheep, goats and dogs were kept by the Early Bronze Age people of Korucutepe: by the Middle Bronze Age horses and donkeys were also present.<sup>46</sup> The latter could well have been employed in the caravan trade between Mesopotamia and Anatolia.

No single site is likely to reveal the whole story of a region as diversified in its cultural connections over so many centuries as the Altınova, and Korucutepe is no exception to this generalization. Korucutepe F (Early Bronze IIIB) was a phase of only thin habitation of the site.<sup>47</sup>

Without any discernible break in the stratigraphy, the advent of the next phase in the long story of Korucutepe (Middle Bronze I), Phase G, is marked by the arrival of grey wheelmade pottery, appearing likewise at Norşuntepe at this time. One form with distribution through the second millennium B.C. as far afield as Alaca Hüyük and Boğazköy is a two-handled cooking-pot, together with a type without handles: this first occurs in Korucutepe G.<sup>48</sup> The painted pottery of the Early Bronze IIIB phase persisted, the wheelmade ware alone distinguishing the two phases. A fortification system including at least ten towers, with a double stone wall packed with imported clay said to be from the mountains, and crowned by a superstructure of mud brick, may have been built in this phase or alternatively in the following Middle Bronze II phase (Korucutepe H), as suggested in the section of the final report devoted specifically to the fortifications. Whatever the precise dating of these defences, on which there seems some uncertainty, they suggest a strong necessity for security and the means to provide for it, even though perhaps for only a rather brief time-span. The circuit of the fortifications was no less than 550 metres, enclosing a roughly elliptical area.<sup>49</sup>

As the excavator himself declares: "The absence of occupation debris belonging to Phase H inside the city wall remains enigmatic. It could be due to insufficient excavation, but this is not very likely . . ." <sup>50</sup> Two features seem clear in the Middle Bronze II phase (Korucutepe H), the traces of a massive stone foundation attributable to a citadel wall and the appearance of some red burnished pottery to be compared with examples in neighbouring Norşuntepe IV, associated with connections with the *karum* of Kanesh in central Anatolia. The overall impression of a shift in the main direction of influences over the Elaziğ region, with the eclipse of the long Early Trans-Caucasian tradition with its eastern affinities, is undeniable. The suggested term "Isuwa culture" is an attractive one for this period; but the evidence may not be enough to justify its use, proposed on the strength of the discoveries at Tepecik.<sup>51</sup> This was a period of insecurity, reflected in massive fortifications, throughout much of the Near East, through Anatolia and Syria into Palestine, and exemplified on the Euphrates by such sites as Tell Hadidi.<sup>52</sup>

Both the links between Korucutepe H and the *karum* of Kanesh and the continuity from Korucutepe F to G tend to suggest that the proposed absolute chronology for these phases is rather too low, that the phase (H) termed Middle Bronze II should begin around or soon after 2000 B.C. rather than c. 1800 B.C., by which time the Assyrian trade with Anatolia was, even on the middle

<sup>46</sup> *Korucutepe I*, p. 218.

<sup>47</sup> *Korucutepe II*, p. 23.

<sup>48</sup> J.N.E.S. XXXIII (1974), p. 83.

<sup>49</sup> *Korucutepe II*, pp. 47–53.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>51</sup> U. Esin: A.S. XXV (1975), p. 48.

<sup>52</sup> See note 21.

chronology, entering its final phase (Kültepe IA). An even higher dating would follow from adherence to the high chronology, recently slightly modified.<sup>53</sup> If the location for the important staging post of Haḫḫum, long since proposed in the vicinity of Harput (Elazığ), contrary to an alternative location some distance west of the Euphrates, were acceptable, the implication for the settlements in the Altinova are clear.<sup>54</sup> The most probable location for Haḫḫum, however, and thus for the route of the Assur-Kanesh trade, would have been more southerly, avoiding the mountain divide between Diyarbakir and the Altinova. Haḫḫum itself was perhaps situated within the area of the current Lower Euphrates rescue excavations.<sup>55</sup> It is tempting to speculate whether Haḫḫum was among the principalities of the "high country" which sent tribute to Shamshi-Adad I.<sup>56</sup> Control of the copper mines of Ergani may have been a crucial factor: in spite of the vast bibliography on the subject, dating evidence eludes the archaeologist.<sup>57</sup> Anyhow the material recovered from Korucutepe scarcely reflects the proximity of this great source of copper.

It is hardly possible to believe that the excavators themselves can regard the symmetrically ordered dating of the Middle and Late Bronze phases (G–I inclusive) at Korucutepe, each allotted two centuries, as more than a rough-and-ready outline: the Middle Bronze II phase might surely have ended by c. 1700 B.C., when conditions had become less settled, after the breakdown of the Old Assyrian state? By contrast, the cultural connections of the Late Bronze I phase (Korucutepe I) seem to last into the Hittite New Kingdom, at least until the early thirteenth century B.C., as indicated by ceramic parallels with Boğazköy and other Anatolian sites, the most typical form being a wide-rimmed plate. Most characteristic of the following Late Bronze II phase (Korucutepe J) is a wheel-marked platter, likewise well paralleled at Tarsus, Boğazköy and elsewhere.<sup>58</sup> Already from the writer's survey of 1956 it was apparent that the Hittite control over Isuwa was reflected in the presence of unmistakably central Anatolian Late Bronze pottery.<sup>59</sup>

Professor Gurney does not require enlightening on the history and historical geography of the Altinova, whose identification as Isuwa is, largely thanks to its mention in the annals of Shalmaneser III in the ninth century B.C.,<sup>60</sup> one of the relatively few uncontroversial aspects of Anatolian geography in the second millennium B.C.: its reannexation to Hittite rule by Suppiluliumas, at the start of his most brilliant campaign, is well known. The central Anatolian connections of Korucutepe I may be seen as extending back into the period of earlier Hittite overlordship, with subsequent defection to Mitanni.<sup>61</sup> The failure to find an

<sup>53</sup> James Mellaart: "A reconciliation of calibrated C-14 dating with the historical chronology of the Near East, with special reference to Anatolia" (paper given at the Sheffield International Colloquium on Aegean Prehistory, April 1980).

<sup>54</sup> Louis L. Orlin: *Assyrian Colonies in Cappadocia* (Paris, 1970), pp. 39–40, with extensive references to earlier literature. But this book dates in effect from 1960.

<sup>55</sup> Mehmet Özdoğan: *Lower Euphrates Basin 1977 Survey* (M.E.T.U.) (Istanbul, 1977).

<sup>56</sup> Carol Kramer: "Pots and peoples", in Louis D. Levine and T. Cuyler Young (ed.): *Mountains and Lowlands: Essays in the Archaeology of Greater Mesopotamia* (Malibu, 1977), pp. 91–112.

<sup>57</sup> J. D. Muhly: *Copper and Tin* (New Haven, Conn., 1973), pp. 199–200, 206 and refs.

<sup>58</sup> J.N.E.S. XXXII (1973), pp. 371–2.

<sup>59</sup> The unpublished material from the writer's 1956 survey is to be published shortly by Mr. Harry Russell.

<sup>60</sup> LAR I, 604.

<sup>61</sup> John Garstang and O. R. Gurney: *The Geography of the Hittite Empire* (London, 1959), pp. 40–1.

archive, following the unearthing of a number of bullae, must have been a major disappointment.<sup>62</sup> Yet this would have been asking too much of excavations on an inevitably limited scale.

Eleven strata (CXXI–CXXXI) were distinguished for Late Bronze II (Korucutepe J), and divided into sub-phases: “massive architecture”, “flimsy architecture”, “earlier pit” and “later pit”, terms which at least give the reader an impression of the task of the excavators.<sup>63</sup> The account of the “massive architecture stage”, including especially a stone-built postern tunnel, cites the association with wheel-made orange ware as dating evidence. But, apart from later investigations and doubts on the function of this structure, there appears to be some uncertainty whether or not this postern may not be contemporary with the Middle Bronze Age fortifications. The discovery of many bronze arrowheads, daggers and sickles, as well as three bullae, in a building indubitably attributable to Late Bronze II (Korucutepe J) in the Turkish excavations, provides a hint of what was left unexcavated by the Oriental Institute in 1968–1970.<sup>64</sup> It does appear very possible that the fortification wall, though two metres lower in absolute level than this building, was terraced and contemporary. If so, Korucutepe must have been much more important in the period of Hittite rule than is suggested by van Loon. A hint of this lies in the discovery of “thirteen conical unbaked clay sealings, impressed with the hieroglyphic stamp seals of persons historically attested between about 1275 and 1225 B.C. Carbon samples, however, have yielded dates around 1200 B.C. for the layers in which these bullae ultimately came to settle (if the MASCA correction factor is applied) . . . ”<sup>65</sup> These bullae are associated with the “earlier pit stage”, the third of the four sub-phases of Late Bronze II Korucutepe (Phase J).

Iron artifacts from a pit attributed to the very end of Korucutepe J suggest the dawn of a new era. This Early Iron Age phase (Korucutepe K), dated to c. 1200–800 B.C., probably began a little later, around 1170 B.C. One piece of evidence for this slightly lower dating is indeed the well-known reference by Tiglath-Pileser I of Assyria to the invasion of Kutmuhi (later Commagene) by “twenty thousand men of the land of Mushki and their five kings, who for fifty years had held the lands of Alzi and Purukuzzi . . . ”<sup>66</sup> The primitive character of the culture of Korucutepe K, with its handmade pottery, agrees with the evidence from Norşuntepe, and makes association with the relatively backward Mushkian invaders highly plausible. It is difficult, however, to detect any connections with the Van region at this stage.<sup>67</sup> Thereafter Korucutepe was deserted until the Seljuk period. For the Urartian domination of the Altınova and surrounding districts, from the reign of Menua onwards, one must turn to Norşuntepe, where the Middle Iron Age is clearly represented in both architecture and pottery.<sup>68</sup>

The evidence for the economy of Korucutepe and other settlements, including Tepecik, is well discussed, especially in *Korucutepe I*. It is interesting to note,

<sup>62</sup> H. G. Güterbock: “Hittite hieroglyphic seal impressions from Korucutepe” (J.N.E.S. XXXII (1973), pp. 135–47).

<sup>63</sup> *Korucutepe II*, pp. 34–40.

<sup>64</sup> H. Ertem: A.S. XXIV (1974), pp. 38–40.

<sup>65</sup> *Korucutepe II*, p. 39.

<sup>66</sup> LAR I, 221.

<sup>67</sup> *Contra* van Loon: J.N.E.S. XXXII (1973), p. 373.

<sup>68</sup> Harald Hauptmann: “Norşuntepe: historische Geographie und Ergebnisse der Grabungen 1968/69” (*Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 19/20 (1969/1970), especially pp. 64–74).

among many other facts, that in the Chalcolithic period at Korucutepe there are short-stalked grapes of a wild variety, whereas by the Early Bronze Age there are grapes with a distinct stalk, probably cultivated, and perhaps yielding a vintage ancestral to the modern *buzbağ*.<sup>69</sup> By the Early Bronze Age free-threshing wheat and two-row barley were the principal cereal crops; and lentils provided a significant supplement to the general diet.<sup>70</sup> Horse bones are mostly from the medieval phase (Korucutepe L), although there is a noteworthy amount of ass bones from the Late Bronze phases (I–J).<sup>71</sup>

The full story of the Altınova settlements in prehistoric times and in and after the period of Hittite rule is yet to be unveiled. Much has already been contributed through the reports published to date by the various expeditions. While the Altınova may never have been the heart of any great and enduring state, its situation athwart a natural trade route inevitably brought it into repeated contact with the wider world. Moreover, its proximity to copper and other mineral resources made it attractive to Sumerian, Akkadian, Eblaite, Assyrian, Hittite and Urartian merchants, as well as encouraging a local metallurgical industry. The publications of the work of the Oriental Institute of Chicago expedition, whatever the inevitable points open to question or criticism, will be an abiding source of reference for correlation with the reports, published and still awaited, from the other excavations in and near the Altınova.

#### ADDENDUM

The third volume of the final report (*Korucutepe III*, (North-Holland Publishing Company, 1980), 315 pp., 117 plates) came into the writer's hands too recently for full consideration in this review article.

This massive final report volume, with seven contributors, deals with the pottery, metalwork, spindle-whorls, seal-impressions and other finds from the Middle Bronze Age till the early Iron Age, after which Korucutepe was deserted; and also from Roman and medieval times.

This detailed description of the Korucutepe material will remain a significant primary source, especially interesting being the little-known Early Iron Age pottery. Here is a material context in which to set the Mushki. That their occupation of the Altınova persisted for some time is suggested by the ceramic continuity from the early twelfth to the ninth century B.C.

Students of the medieval Near East are sure to find this volume of considerable relevance: all too often medieval settlements tend to be on sites unoccupied in prehistoric times.

Elizabeth Griffin's very full study of the Middle and Late Bronze Age pottery includes a short comparative discussion of the Early Bronze IIIB wares.

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<sup>69</sup> *Korucutepe I*, pp. 228, 230.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 229–30.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 29–37.



## A WINGED GODDESS OF WINE ON AN ELECTRUM PLAQUE

By R. D. BARNETT

In 1968 the Bezalel National Museum of Jerusalem, Israel — now incorporated into the Israel Museum — acquired a small but splendid and significant piece of ancient jewellery. As it came from the art-market in New York, it is thus unfortunately without provenance. I now publish it by kind permission of the Chief Curator of Archaeology, Mrs. Miriam Tadmor, and the Curator of the Department of Neighbouring Cultures, Mrs. Rivka Merhav.<sup>1</sup>

### *Technical Description*

Here is, first, the technical description of the piece.

A figure representing a goddess, nude, four-winged and facing frontally is holding in each hand a bunch of grapes. She is raised in relief from the background of an almost square electrum plaque,<sup>2</sup> framed by a plaited wire border set between plain wire on each side. The frame is decorated on each of its four sides with large globules, numbering eight in all, surrounded by granulation. The goddess formerly had long hair falling in two locks of coiled wire one each side of her face (one of these — that on the right, which showed signs of being melted, has been lost before the object first appeared on the market, presumably in antiquity (Plates VIII, IXa)). These locks rested on her shoulders, each in a ring of granulation. A third coiled wire representing a hair fringe is laid horizontally, above her forehead. Above this she appears to wear a flat cap or covering, outlined with granulation. She wears a necklace of four strings and has double bracelets on wrists and upper arms, all indicated in granulation, and at her ankles a triple band of anklets flanked by bands of granulation. Her nipples and pubic triangle, once inlaid and thereby emphasized, are outlined in granulation, the nipples being apparently once ornamented in cloisonné. Her navel is indented in a manner suggesting a crescent and star. In each hand she holds the stem of a bunch of grapes, which is executed in cloisons and granulation.

The goddess's skirt, thrown open, reveals six stars, three on each side. The topmost is (or was) four-rayed, the lower are six-rayed.

The skirt and stars and the two upper and two lower wings are made of cloisons which once held inlays of glass or stone. These cloisons were made by affixing narrow strips of gold or electrum at right angles to the background.

She stands on a miniature symbolic mountain, indicated by scales, formed similarly by cloisons, once no doubt inlaid with glass or stones.

The whole background is filled with zig-zag patterns and triangles formed of granulation, bordered by 16 raised balls, already mentioned, (6 on right, 6 on left, 2 above and 2 below the figure) suggesting stars. One of the grapes and two

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<sup>1</sup> Israel Museum, Department of Neighbouring Cultures, 70.86.170. Size: 6.6 cm. ( $2\frac{1}{4}$ " high  $\times$  7.2 cm. ( $2\frac{5}{16}$ " broad. Weight 48.4 gr. Bought in New York. Gift of Mr Sydney Lamon.

<sup>2</sup> A spectographic analysis, made by Professor S. M. Alexander (Conservation Centre, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University) showed the composition of the metal to be as follows (over 3 samples)

Gold	Silver	Copper	Iron	Magnesium	Silica
S	VS	S	W-M	ND-M	W-S

S = Strong; M = Medium; W = Weak; ND = Not determined; VS = Very strong.



rays of the stars were found to contain remains of glass, that in the grape showing signs of having been fused *in situ*, possibly during manufacture.<sup>3</sup>

The back view of the plaque shows the right and lefthand edges rolled back to form two vertical tubes with another tube fixed at the centre, held by a ring at top and bottom. These tubes were probably to hold the ornament securely in a necklace or belt or perhaps in a headdress. The back view shows how the basic parts of the figure were first raised up, then decorated on the front (Plate IXb).

\* \* \*

This fine piece of jewellery raises several questions: (1) What are its affinities? (2) Where does it come from, i.e. to what "school" of art should it be ascribed? (3) What do its symbolism and subject matter indicate? and (4) What are its date and historical implications?

(1) As to affinities, let us first take the technological background: The *material* electrum, (a natural alloy of silver and gold) occurs widely in the Ancient Near East. The electrum from the Pactolus river in Lydia is generally supposed to have furnished the material for the first coinage of Croesus.<sup>4</sup> But electrum (like other precious metals) was easily enough traded and exported. For example, an electrum pendant disc was found at Zincirli:<sup>5</sup> and the plaques from Camirus (Rhodes) in the British Museum are of the same substances,<sup>6</sup> yet apparently were fabricated locally (Plate XIIIa). Electrum also occurs in Sumerian and Egyptian jewellery.<sup>7</sup>

The *techniques* used have a long history in the Near East. Granulation, i.e., the beautifying of a background of gold by tiny droplets of gold, was practised by Western Asiatic goldsmiths from the middle of the third millennium B.C.<sup>8</sup> at Ur; possibly invented by the Sumerians, the technique spread far and wide and was particularly popular in Syria, the Lebanon,<sup>9</sup> Palestine,<sup>10</sup> and Elam,<sup>11</sup> and Northern Iran, and in Egypt from the Middle Kingdom.<sup>12</sup> Western Phoenicia (Spain, Carthage, Tharros<sup>13</sup>) and Etruria in particular<sup>14</sup> developed the most spectacular use of granulation of all time.

<sup>3</sup> Report by Dr Robert Brill, of Corning Museum of Glass, from which he kindly permits to make the above quotation.

<sup>4</sup> Pactolus/Lydian electrum: Excavations of the refineries of Croesus: G. M. A. Hanfmann, *From Croesus to Constantine* (Ann Arbor 1975), pp. 5–6.

<sup>5</sup> A. Von Luschan and W. Andrae, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli V*, pl. 46, 8, h.

<sup>6</sup> R. A. Higgins, *Greek and Roman Jewellery* (London 1961), pl. 19. R. Laffineur, *L'Orfèvrerie rhodienne orientalisante* (Paris 1978).

<sup>7</sup> Electrum was used in Sumer in the Early Dynastic Periods, e.g., for the gold helmet of Mes-Kalam-Shar from Ur, R. Maxwell-Hyslop, *Western Asiatic Jewellery* (London 1971), pl. XIV. Eleven ingots of it were found by Schliemann in Troy II (c. 2200 B.C.) in Treasure I (Maxwell-Hyslop, *op. cit.*, p. 55). For its use in Egypt, see Alex Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery* (London 1971), Index p. 264, s.v.

<sup>8</sup> Gold ring from grave of Pu-abi at Ur (Maxwell-Hyslop, *op. cit.*, pp. 36–7). At Byblos, *ibid.*, pp. 102–4 and fig. 75. M. Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, II, pl. CXXXII.

<sup>9</sup> Dunand, *op. cit.*, II, 14436, 14437, 14451, 16702 etc.; Maxwell-Hyslop, *op. cit.*, fig. 75.

<sup>10</sup> Ajlul – Maxwell-Hyslop, *op. cit.*, pp. 114–24.

<sup>11</sup> Maxwell-Hyslop, *op. cit.*, pp. 186–87; P. Amiet, *Elam* (Auvers-sur-Oise 1966), figs. 311–13, 320.

<sup>12</sup> A. Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 5 and pl. XIV. C. Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs* (London 1971), pp. 98–113, describes the process of manufacture of granulation.

<sup>13</sup> D. B. Harden, *The Phoenicians* (London 1962), figs. 96–7.

<sup>14</sup> Becatti, *Oreficerie antiche* (Rome 1955), pls. A, B (colour); pls. XXXIII–IV, XVI–XVIII).

A similar history may be traced in the case of the *cloisonné* work in gold, formed of inlays set in frames of thin gold tape. It is known in Egypt from the Old Kingdom.<sup>15</sup>

*Plaited gold wire.* It also appears in Egypt in the exquisite treasure from Dahshur in Egypt of the Middle Kingdom c. 1890 B.C.<sup>16</sup>

All three techniques were practised by goldsmiths of Phoenicia, Elam and Syria in the early Iron Age and by them were spread to Anatolia, Greece and the West in the 8th century B.C.<sup>17</sup> The gold plaque from Aydin (Tralles) in Lydia, now in the Louvre, dated c. 650 B.C., shows the use of both granulation and plaited wire.<sup>18</sup>

The rolling of the edges of the plaque into a tube, can be partly paralleled in the (albeit much clumsier) hinges of a Phoenician or Syrian gold headdress made of plaques, now at Baltimore,<sup>19</sup> but the tubes in the present case may be for hanging rather than for hingeing (Plate IXb).

Thus, it is not possible to draw any clear conclusion as to source of manufacture of our piece from the evidence of the technology. We can only say that on the technological evidence a source in the North Levant or the South Eastern frontier of Anatolia and a date in the 9th or early 8th century B.C. is probably indicated.

*Stylistic affinities and motifs.* These can be analysed under the headings of (a) physical features — human and divine — including style and proportions. These shade into (b) motifs (*wings* and their treatment; *winged frontal figure*; the *mountain*; *grapes*).

(a) *Physical features.* The girl's *figure* is noticeably broad-shouldered and stocky, like a sturdy peasant girl, with broad hips. The proportion of head to the rest of the body is 1:3½. This corresponds with that of Urpalla on the great rock relief at Ivriz,<sup>20</sup> and with sculptures from Maraş, and with that of Kilamuwa at Zincirli; whereas at Carchemish 1:4 is more common. These squat proportions may probably be traced to the influence of Kassite and neo-Babylonian art travelling up the Euphrates Valley. The formula is repeated in exaggerated form in figures on bone *plaques* from Camirus in Rhodes, probably of the 9th century B.C.<sup>21</sup>

In the present instance, the top of her head is flat and seems to bear a cap, and rather strangely, the ears are not shown but are hidden behind her hanging locks, so it is not clear how she hears the prayers of her worshippers. These *spiral locks* falling each side can be easily paralleled at Tell Halaf,<sup>22</sup> on the North Syrian ("Loftus") ivories from Nimrud,<sup>23</sup> or on the SW7 ivories from Fort Shalmaneser.<sup>24</sup>

Her once inlaid eyes are large, and one, that on the right, clearly shows the

<sup>15</sup> Aldred, *op. cit.*, pp. 113–14.

<sup>16</sup> Aldred, *ibid.*, pl. 29.

<sup>17</sup> Becatti, *op. cit.*; Higgins, *op. cit.*, pp. 19–23.

<sup>18</sup> E. Coche de la Ferté, *Les Bijoux Antiques* (Paris 1956), pl. VI; a. Dumont, "Note sur les bijoux d'or trouvés en Lydie", *B.C.H.* 3 (1879), pp. 129–30.

<sup>19</sup> H. Bossert, *Altsyrien* (Tübingen 1951), fig. 774. Becatti, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVIII, 217.

<sup>20</sup> D. G. Hogarth, *British Museum Excavations at Ephesus* (1908), pl. XXX, figs. 15 and 16.

<sup>21</sup> W. Orthmann, *Der Alte Orient: Propyläen Kunstgeschichte* 14 (Berlin 1975), pl. XLIII (colour). E. Akurgal, *Die Kunst Anatoliens* (Berlin 1961), fig. 38 (detail).

<sup>22</sup> A. Moortgat, *Tell Halaf III* (Berlin 1955), pl. 1.

<sup>23</sup> Barnett, *Catalogue of Nimrud Ivories*, (London 1957), pls. LXXXV–V.

<sup>24</sup> M. Mallowan and G. Herrmann, *Furniture from S.W. 7, Fort Shalmaneser*, pls. I–II, LIV–LIX.

*tear duct* at the corner. This is not a common feature in Western Asiatic art, but is found in faces from Carchemish belonging to the late 8th century B.C.<sup>25</sup> at Sakcagözü,<sup>26</sup> Maraş,<sup>27</sup> and again at Ivriz.

Her *nose*, perhaps slightly flattened by a blow, is fleshy with curving, emphasized nostrils. It may conceivably be meant to imply an emotion, that of anger, since for example, in ancient Hebrew, the word *âpim* "nostrils" is synonymous with wrath. But it is perhaps best to regard it neutrally, in which case one can of course again compare it with markedly curving nostrils on the faces at Ivriz.

The curious detail of the *meeting eyebrows* is one which seems to have hitherto aroused little comment among scholars. It is probably not so much a physical detail as much as a *motif*, perhaps originally reflecting an actually observable racial feature.

It goes back in Western Asia in sculptures of both sexes to Sumerian art,<sup>28</sup> but is revived in the Iron Age. A mask, probably of a divinity, stated to be of steatite, from House D at Carchemish exemplifies it conspicuously, with a hole drilled at the point where the brows meet, perhaps to hold an ornament.<sup>29</sup> It also appears on the figure of a nude goddess holding animals, carved on an ivory horse's forehead-ornament or harness piece from Gordion (Plate XI). This is evidently a work of North Syrian art.<sup>30</sup> This feature in men may have been regarded as a mark of maturity and wisdom. In ancient Oriental women, it seems to have been considered a mark of beauty. It certainly found favour in the Harem of the Turkish Sultans of the Ottoman Empire up to at least the 16th century A.D.,<sup>31</sup> but in other countries, especially Northern Europe, it was traditionally disliked, even to the point of fear and superstition.<sup>32</sup>

It can be found again in Orientalising Greek art in a fine plastic vase from Rhodes.<sup>33</sup>

To her inlaid *nipples* I know no exact parallel but the way they are emphasized by a circle of granulation recurs on the jewellery from Camirus (Plate XIIIa). Her once inlaid *pubic triangle* is likewise heavily emphasized by outlining with granulation. It has perhaps a distant parallel in the ivory seated goddess from Kültepe-Kanesh, of pre-Hittite date.<sup>34</sup>

(b) *Motifs. Ornaments (necklace, bracelets and anklets).* These ornaments of the nude frontally facing goddess are a very old tradition. They are represent-

<sup>25</sup> C. L. Woolley and R. D. Barnett, *Carchemish III* (London 1952), pl. B. 67d, e; H. Bossert, *Altanatolien* (Berlin 1942), figs. 827, 829.

<sup>26</sup> E. Akurgal, *Späthethitische Bildkunst* (Ankara 1949), pl. XLV, a, "jungspäthethitisch".

<sup>27</sup> Stele (8th century) of god and goddess: M. Hirmer and E. Akurgal, *The Art of the Hittites* (London 1961), pl. 139.

<sup>28</sup> E.g. E. Strommenger and M. Hirmer, *Fünf Jahrtausende Mesopotamien* (Munich 1962), pls. 133, 142.

<sup>29</sup> C. L. Woolley, *Carchemish II*, pl. 22a.

<sup>30</sup> R. Young, "The 1962 Campaign at Gordion", *A.J.A.* 66, 1962, pp. 166-7, pls. 46-7. Photographs by courtesy of Dr Ellen Kohler.

<sup>31</sup> N. M. Penzer, *The Harem* (London 1936), p. 164, n. 2, commenting on Bassano's report (1564) on the girls of the Sultan's Harem, some of whom "make their [two] eyebrows look like one by painting the space between, which (in my opinion) is very unsightly".

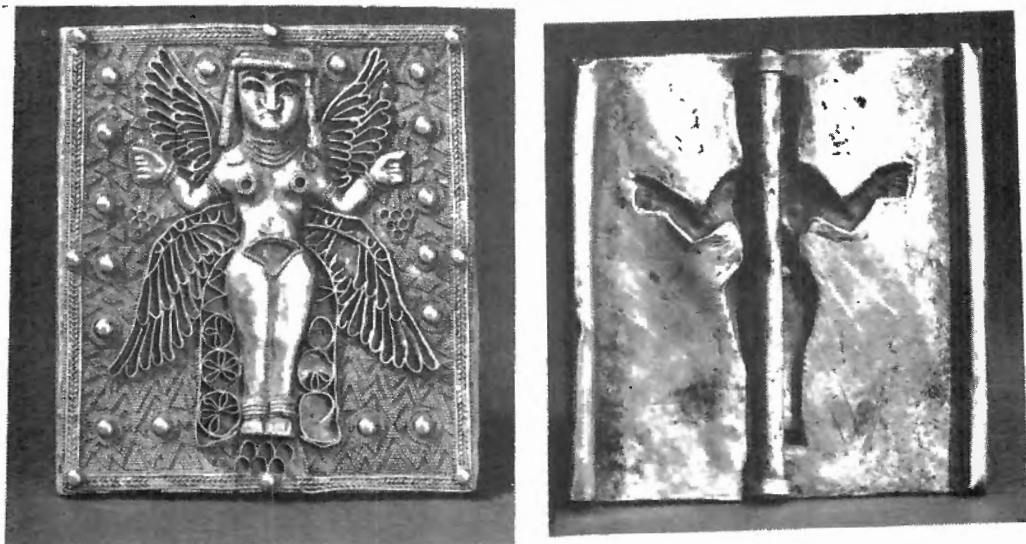
<sup>32</sup> "The meeting of the eyebrows, while considered beautiful in some countries, is not liked among the Hindus; and in Iceland, Denmark, Germany, Greece, and Bohemia is considered a sign of a vampire." Penzer, *op. cit.*, *ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> R. A. Higgins, *Catalogue of Terracottas in the British Museum*, II (London), fig. 1601, pl. I.

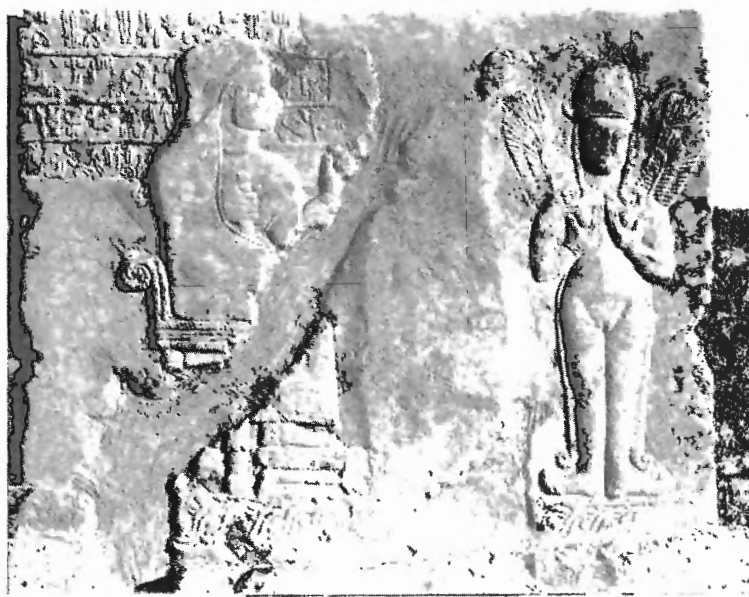
<sup>34</sup> T. Özgüç, *Kültepe-Kaniş* (Ankara 1959), pl. XXIV, 2; *idem*, *Belleten*, XVIII, 71 (1954), pp. 385-87; M. Hirmer and E. Akurgal, *The Art of the Hittites* (London 1962), fig. 36.



Electrum plaque, showing a figure of a goddess of wine (enlarged).



Electrum plaque, (a) front and (b) back (approx. 1:1).



(c) Relief from Carchemish.

ed on the naked girls of the "Loftus" ivories from Nimrud of North Syrian Style,<sup>35</sup> but they go back at least to the winged bird-goddess of the "Burney relief".<sup>36</sup> What is unusual, however, in the present case is the wearing of double armllets on the *upper* arm, to which I know no exact parallel.<sup>37</sup> So, too, are the two pendant curls of granulation, one on each shoulder, which may conceivably represent the remains of ornaments hanging from the sides of the necklace.

The *winged, frontally facing, nude goddess: and the same, partly clad*. Winged frontally facing figures of male divinities are common in the pre-Hittite art of Kültepe-Kanesh;<sup>38</sup> so, too, is the nude, frontally facing goddess, who may be depicted holding either reversed animals or other objects; but she is very rarely shown in that art as winged. A single example only is recorded from Karahöyük near Konya.<sup>39</sup> The concept of the winged, totally nude, goddess facing frontally and holding reversed animals was however, long familiar in Syria, where it was popularized by Hurrian art; this is attested by its frequent occurrence on Hurrian-Mitannian cylinder seals of the second millennium B.C.<sup>40</sup> There are variations on the theme. The seal of Shaushshatar shows her supplied with lion's paws for feet.<sup>41</sup> At Ras Shamra on an ivory panel, winged and wearing Hathor locks and half-dressed, bearing a sun-emblem on her head, she suckles two large youths, possibly to be identified with twins Shahar and Shalem, the evening and morning star.<sup>42</sup> In the Iron Age she received especial attention in the art of Phoenicia and Syria in ivory and in bronze work, in ornaments of horse-harness: probably this was a reflection of the cult of the equestrian form of Ashtart.<sup>43</sup> At Salamis in Cyprus she was represented on a bronze disc, winged and holding lions<sup>44</sup> (Plate X). In Anatolia we have an example in the ivory horse's head-piece from Gordion, but that piece, as we have said, has every appearance of being an import from North Syria<sup>45</sup> (Plate XI).

In Mesopotamia, the frontally facing, winged and nude goddess goes back to

<sup>35</sup> Barnett, *op. cit.*, pls. LXX–LXXVI.

<sup>36</sup> H. Frankfort, *Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Harmondsworth 1954), pl. 56.

<sup>37</sup> In Mesopotamia, armllets can be traced back to the Sargonid period (Maxwell-Hyslop, *op. cit.*, p. 22); worn by a goddess in a fresco from Mari, *ibid.*, fig. 56; in Palestine at Tell el Ajjul, *ibid.*, p. 123. In Assyria lion-headed armllets are worn by King Ashurbanipal. In Egypt they are common, but are shaped as a broad band.

<sup>38</sup> Kutlu Emre, *Anadolu Kurşun Figürinleri ve taş Kalıpları (Anatolian Lead Figurines and their Stones Moulds)* (Ankara 1971).

<sup>39</sup> Kutlu Emre, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

<sup>40</sup> E. Porada, "Die Siegelzylinder-Abrollung auf der Amarna-Tafel B.M. 29841 im Britischen Museum"; *AFO*. XXV (1974/7). She remarks on the variation between winged and unwinged types of the nude goddess. "Mir scheint, dass diese Unterschiede oft verwischt werden und dass die Bedeutungsforschung mit gewissen ikonographischen 'Ungenauigkeiten' wird rechnen müssen." For a valuable survey of the subject of the nude goddess, see W. Orthmann, *Untersuchungen zur späthethitischen Kunst* (Bonn 1971), pp. 279–85: "die nackte Göttin."

<sup>41</sup> W. Orthmann, *Die Alte Orient: Propyläen Kunstgeschichte* 14 (Berlin 1975), fig. 270a.

<sup>42</sup> J. Leclant, "Astarté à cheval, d'après les représentations égyptiennes", *Syria* XXXVII (1960). On the nude goddess with reversed animals on horse harness and variations of the theme, see W. Orthmann, *Untersuchungen*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>44</sup> V. Karagheorghis, *Excavations in the necropolis of Salamis*, III (Haarlem 1974), pl. CCLXXII (reproduced by kind permission of Dr Karagheorghis) and pp. 83–4. The goddess stands here under a winged head of Hathor. The latter probably represents the Sun goddess Shapash, and is encountered again on the famous Palestrina bowl with scenes illustrating the epic adventures of a prince: C. Clermont Ganneau, *L'Imagerie phénicienne* (1880); Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité* III, (1884), fig. 543.

<sup>45</sup> See above, note 30.



the Old Babylonian period and at least to the art of Larsa; with her wings go the claws of a bird of prey as feet, to emphasize more strongly the realism of the wings.<sup>46</sup> In the art of Syria of the Bronze Age and in Hittite art we meet a new variation — that of the goddess wingless and human footed, but now more erotically provocative, opening her garment and exposing her nakedness from the waist downwards. In Anatolia, a mould for casting lead figures in pre-Hittite style in the von Aulock collection shows the wingless, nude frontal goddess in a shrine flanked by two birds, opening her garment.<sup>47</sup> Above her head is a solar disc.<sup>48</sup> Machteld Mellink has drawn attention to a lapis lazuli pendant in Hittite style from Alalakh Level II,<sup>49</sup> who thus opens her garment; and to an ivory statuette of a somewhat similar type found at Nuzi.<sup>50</sup> The implications of seduction are more explicitly spelt out on a Syrian cylinder seal,<sup>51</sup> in the Pierpont Morgan Collection (Plate XIIIb). An alabaster vessel from Asshur of Middle Assyrian date, shows the same motif, but she is now combined with the motif of the 2-winged frontal nude goddess of the Hurrian-Mitannian cylinder-seals.<sup>52</sup> By the time of the Iron Age, in Assyria she has now become 4-winged, again half clad, but only as far down as the waist, while below it her private parts and legs are shamelessly exposed. She probably also occurs on a small panel of blue frit found by Layard at Nimrud; but the matter is not clear, since the lower part of the panel is broken off.<sup>53</sup> Otherwise, illustrations of her in Assyria are confined to little scenes in the borders of the royal garments at Nimrud<sup>54</sup> or to an ivory panel carved in the Assyrian linear technique.<sup>55</sup>

One scholar has suggested plausibly that such border-decorations show the influence of alien, i.e., non-Assyrian craftsmen.<sup>56</sup> If so, they are particularly relevant to the present subject and may be aptly enough compared. At Carchemish in the Iron Age, a queenly figure is shown enthroned beside a lengthy inscription (A I) in Hittite hieroglyphs.<sup>57</sup> Before her stands a version of the nude 4-winged frontal goddess, which represents the ultimate combination of the several motifs. The goddess is shown frontally, holding her breasts, wearing only a helmet and a pair of Hittite-type boots, virtually nude, but with the edges of her garment falling, scarcely visible, on either side of her lower body, and curling up at the bottom (Plate IXc).

It is noticeable that in the present piece the feet and toes are shown as if

<sup>46</sup> Orthmann, *Alte Orient*, pl. XIV.

<sup>47</sup> A similar figure is depicted on a clay plaque from Alalakh, found in Level III (14th century). C. L. Woolley, *Alalakh*, p. 247, pl. LIV, o; M. Barrelet, *Syria XXXV* (1958), p. 42, fig. 9.

<sup>48</sup> K. Emre, op. cit., pl. XL, 4a and b.

<sup>49</sup> C. L. Woolley, *Alalakh* (London 1955), p. 81 and pl. LXIXI.

<sup>50</sup> M. Mellink, "A Hittite Figurine from Nuzi", in *Vorderasiatische Archäologie . . . Anton Moortgat gewidmet* (Berlin 1964), p. 159 ff. traces the development from the Cappadocian seals onwards of this representation of the goddess, self-exhibiting but wingless.

<sup>51</sup> New York, Pierpont Morgan Library; reprod. Ilse Seibert, *Die Frau im alten Orient* (Leipzig 1973), pl. 39a.

<sup>52</sup> A. von Haller, *Gräber und Gräfte von Assur* (1954), fig. 164a.

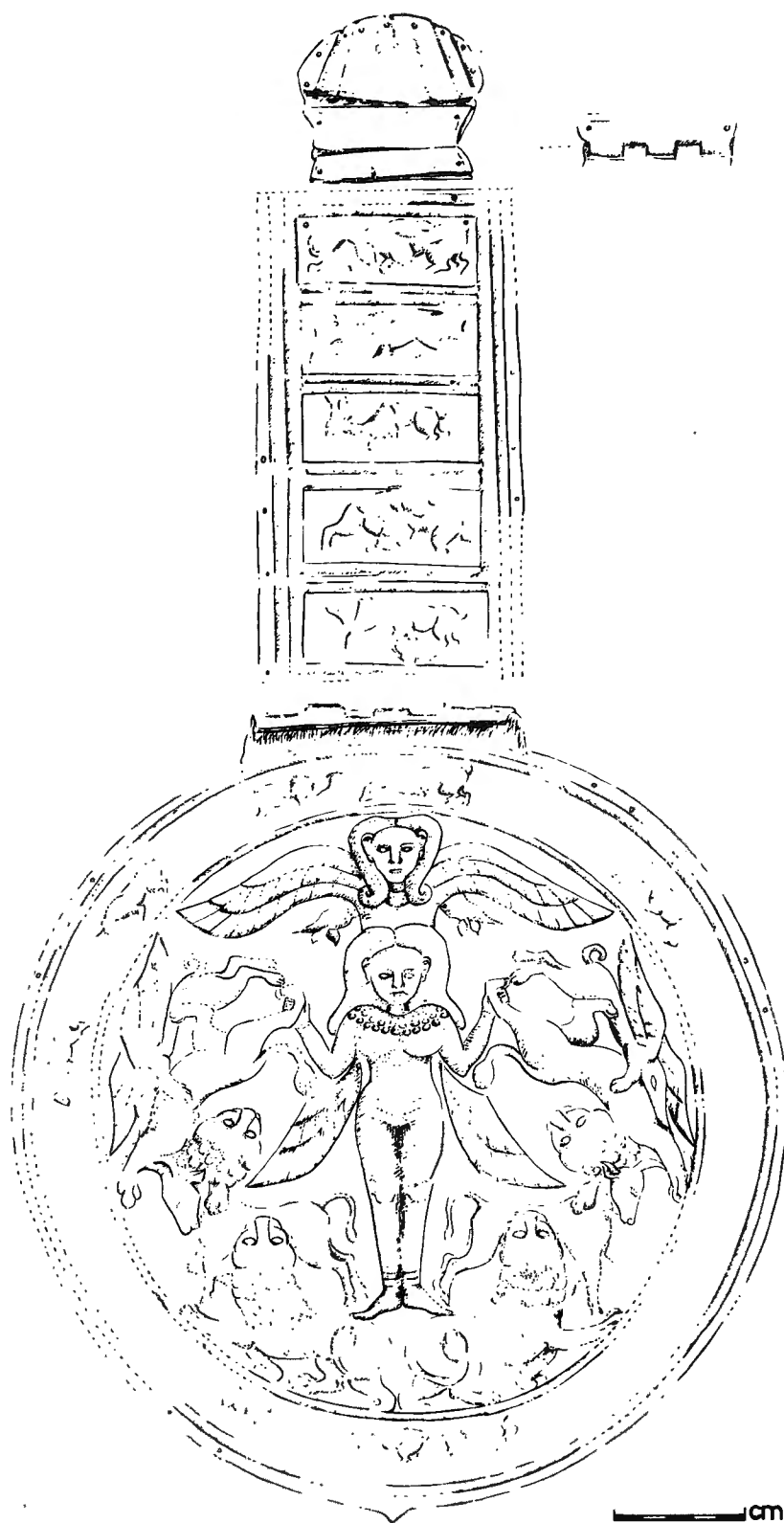
<sup>53</sup> W. Orthmann, *Alte Orient*, fig. 263a.

<sup>54</sup> O. Ravn, "Die Reliefs der assyrischen Königen", *A.f.O.* XVI (1952/3), p. 240.

<sup>55</sup> A. Parrot, *Nineveh and Babylon* (1961) p. 258, fig. 330, M. Mallowan, "The excavations at Nimrud (Kalhu) 1953", *Iraq* 16 (1954), p. 152, pl. XXX.

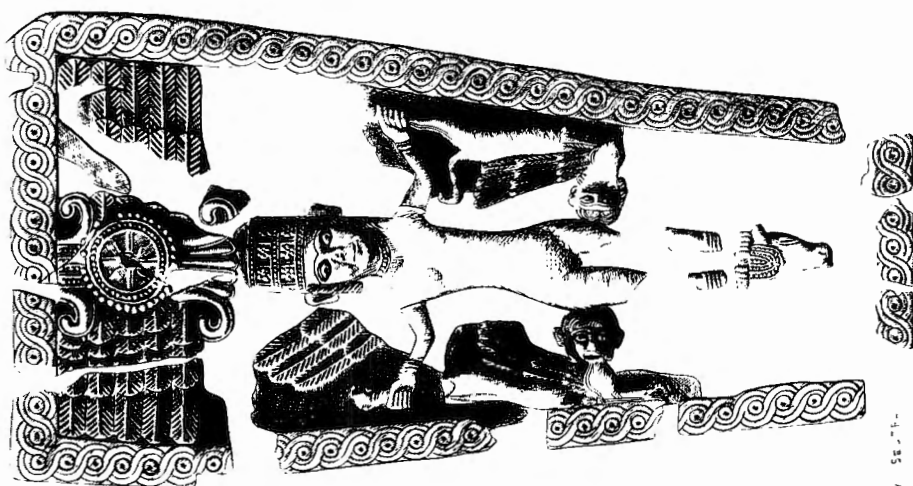
<sup>56</sup> Jeanny Vorys Canby, "Decorated Garments in Ashurnasirpal's Sculpture", *Iraq XXXIII* (1971), pp. 31–53.

<sup>57</sup> D. G. Hogarth, *Carchemish I* (London 1914), pl. A. I; Barnett and Woolley, *Carchemish III* (London 1952), pl. B. 40.



Pendant bronze disc from Salamis.





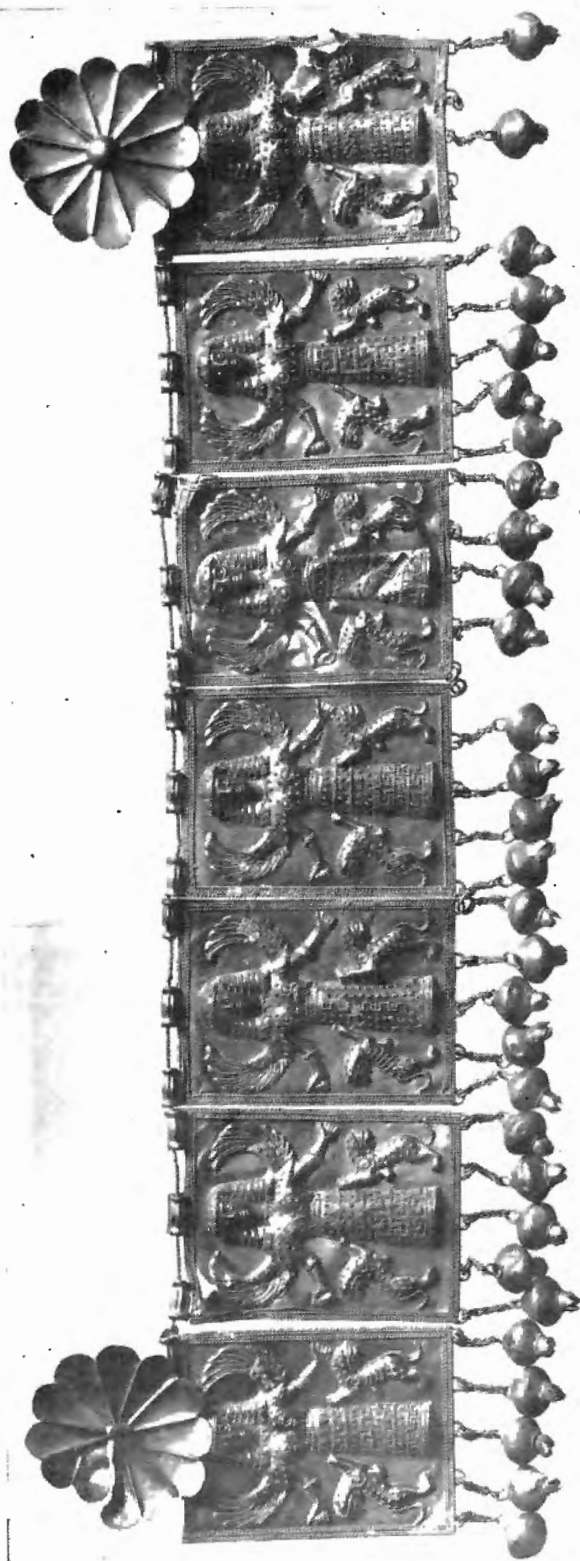
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Horse's nose piece, ivory, from Gordion.



Stele showing god and goddess, from Maraş.



(a) Electrum ornament from Camirus (British Museum).



(b) Cylinder seal, Pierpont Morgan Collection.

in the round, turned towards the onlooker, whereas in all other illustrations known to me they are splayed out and turned sideways.

But in general great caution in interpretation of these nude figures is necessary since there are evidently at least two different sources for the theme. The one type goes back to the goddess Inanna/Ishtar who strips herself of her garments and ornaments one by one in order to pass naked into the Underworld. The other type is, as we have seen, one where she half-undrapes herself to provoke erotic emotions. Though the themes are quite distinct, they can be easily confused.

There can, in short, be no doubt that we have in this little electrum plaque a form of winged deity of fertility depicted in an important epiphany, whose cult was popular and very ancient in both Anatolia and Syria, but was also well-known in Northern Mesopotamia. But she is here also something more than a mere deity of sex and fertility, as her starry garment shows us.

*The Starry Garment.* The garment that the goddess opens, discloses six stars, three on each side. The topmost is (or was) 4-rayed, i.e., solar; the lower pair are (or were) 6-rayed, i.e., connected with the Venus Star.<sup>58</sup> Whereas the garment that she opens to expose herself in this piece is nothing new — indeed is already a very ancient theme — the disclosure of its astral lining of sun- and star-symbols is (as far as I am aware) a new development, raising her divinity from the level of goddess of fertility to a cosmic plane. We see best the point reached in the present piece if we compare a neighbouring culture; thus, the great gold bowl from Hasanlu shows her standing on a pair of rams and opening wide her cloak;<sup>59</sup> (fig. 1) but her celestial associations there are limited to a necklace, from which

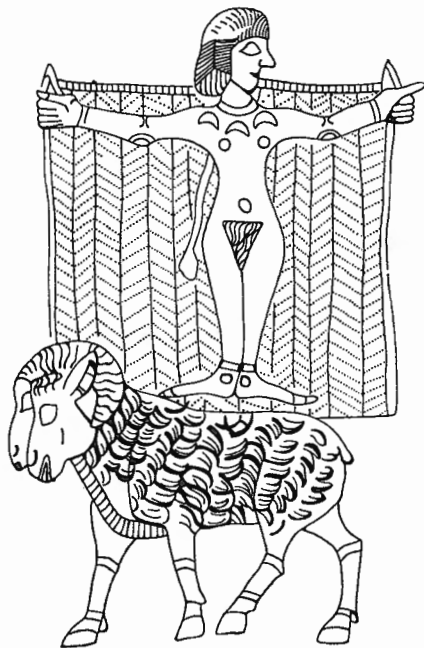


Fig. 1. Figure of Goddess on the Hasanlu gold bowl (detail).

<sup>58</sup> On the identification of the several symbols of the gods including the 4-pointed and six-pointed star symbols, see Barnett, "The Gods of Zincirli", *Compte-Rendu de l'onzième rencontre assyriologique internationale* (Leiden 1964), pp. 58–88, esp pp. 73–80.

<sup>59</sup> E. Porada, *The Art of Ancient Iran* (Baden-Baden 1965), figs. 63–4. Seibert, op. cit., fig. on p. 43.

hang three crescents — presumably symbolising the three phases of the moon — *tria virginis ora Dianae*.<sup>60</sup> The present symbolism places her on a higher level, equal with the Assyrian Ishtar *malkat šamē*,<sup>61</sup> or the Canaanite “Queen of Heaven” (for whom the women of Jerusalem baked cakes and burnt incense in the streets of Jerusalem),<sup>62</sup> or with the Phoenician Ashtart.<sup>63</sup>

*Wings.* The upper pair are smaller than the lower: all four consist of two rows of large feathers with rounded tips, growing out of a central base which is covered with short feathers. This is the Assyrian wing-pattern of the 9th century B.C. It is certainly not the formula for wings in Hittite art — either at Zincirli, Sakcagözü or the other neo-Hittite art centres. But there are resemblances in this piece to the wing-structure represented in the ivories from Room S.W.7 at Fort Shalmaneser, Nimrud.<sup>64</sup> We may call it a Syrian or Assyrian wing-style but not an Anatolian one.

The use of four wings is a curious phenomenon which is certainly not drawn from nature. The ancients knew quite well that no bird, only insects have so many wings as four. Why then do four, even sometimes six, wings appear on the shoulders, mostly of Assyrian divine spirits in the Iron Age, and whence is the idea derived? The prophet Ezekiel conceded that two were enough to sustain the 6-winged beings in flight, and gave other functions to the other pairs — e.g., to cover their bodies.<sup>65</sup> It is possible that the use of four wings arose from an Assyrian pictorial device, to suggest flapping in flight, similar to that used by them in representing gateway-monsters with five legs, apparently to suggest motion by representing the fore limbs in two different positions.<sup>66</sup>

The slight curve in the outline of the wings towards the tip is found in Hittite art of the Imperial period, e.g., at Eflatun Pınar and in Phoenician art of the 9th–8th centuries B.C. It also recurs on the *repoussé* figures on the bronze cauldron stands of apparent Anatolian origin in the Tomba Barberini, and from the Tomba Bernardini at Praeneste.<sup>67</sup>

It is really in essence a naturalistic detail pleasing to the eye, perhaps derived from Egyptian artists who copied it originally from life, observing how the wing-tips of large birds such as eagles mark the response to air pressure or weight, when the bird is settling or in flight. Greek Orientalising art of the 7th century and later on in the 6th century B.C., developed this curve and exaggerated it into a purely decorative curl until it becomes a quite meaningless caprice. This feature also occurs in Iranian art and is carried through into the formalised style of the Achaemenids.

*The Mountain.* The association of the great goddess of fertility, Inanna-Ishtar, with a mountain can be traced back in iconography to Sargonic times in Mesopotamia (where mountains are conspicuous for absence). The mountain

<sup>60</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* IV. 5.

<sup>61</sup> Ishtar is frequently depicted on Assyrian cylinder seals surrounded by a circle of stars.

<sup>62</sup> Jeremiah 7, 18; 44, 17.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. illustrations of her surrounded with stars on the “Pantheon bowl” from Nimrud, Barnett, “The Nimrud ivories and the art of the Phoenicians”, *Iraq* II (1953), fig. 7.

<sup>64</sup> M. Mallowan and G. Herrmann, *op. cit.*, pls. II, LXXXII.

<sup>65</sup> Ezekiel, I, 11.

<sup>66</sup> Noticeable on the doorway-figures of the Palace of Ashurnasirpal at Nimrud, now in the British Museum.

<sup>67</sup> Curtis, *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* III (1919), pl. 56; so too on figure of winged goat on bronze stand from the Tomba Bernardini, *ibid.*, V (1925), pl. 28; also in H. V. Herrmann, *Olympische Forschungen VI: Die Kessel der orientalisierenden Zeit* (Berlin 1966), pls. 74, 75.

has been said to represent the grave of Tammuz, and is commonly depicted as a scaly triangle.<sup>68</sup> A mountain-god was worshipped at Asshur in the Middle Assyrian period.<sup>69</sup> Gods and goddesses were commonly worshipped in Hittite times in Anatolia and Syria in association with mountains. At Yazılı Kaya, the goddess Hepat stands on an animal, standing itself on blocks suggesting mountains, while her consort Teshub stands on the necks of two mountain-gods. On the east wall of Chamber A, Tudhaliya IV, perhaps deified, stands on twin mountains.<sup>70</sup>

In the Iron Age the Great Mother in Western Anatolia was commonly associated with Mount Dindymos in Phrygia and is called the Dindymene or Zinzimene Mother.

*Grapes.* Back, then, to the lady with grapes. The association of a particular form of the Greek goddess with wine and wine drinking can also be followed back in Mesopotamia to Sumerian times. Geshtin-an-na, meaning "Wine of Heaven", sister of Dumuzi, was worshipped at Lagash; and as "mother of wine" (Ama-geštin) from the time of Uru-ka-gi-na.<sup>71</sup> The cult and its use of wine had connections with the underworld. Wine was clearly by the late Bronze Age an important article of industry on the coast of Syria probably in the hands of the Canaanites.<sup>72</sup> As Pritchard has pointed out, the ceremonial and social development of wine drinking among the ruling classes in Syria and Canaan from the 12th century B.C. is attested by the spread of the demand for great vessels usually in the form of bronze cauldrons, resting on metal tripods or stands of other shapes, from which the wine was decanted, and strained into drinking cups or bowls.<sup>73</sup> The fashion spread in the Iron Age from Syria to Assyria, Urartu, Anatolia, and thence to Greece and to Etruria in the Orientalising period. In Judah, viticulture became an important industry and wine a royal monopoly, as is amply recorded by the stamped wine jar handles.<sup>74</sup> In Anatolia, where the vine grows wild, and wine making is deemed to have originated,<sup>75</sup> vine-growing and wine-manufacture flourished, above all in Urartu. But representations of the protective deity of the grape are certainly very rare in ancient Near Eastern Art. A plastic vase in the form of a bunch of grapes was found at Kültepe,<sup>76</sup> but only two illustrations of figures holding grapes seem known, both male. One is on a well known relief from Maraş (Plate XII): a bearded figure, seated embracing his wife who holds a mirror. Originally thought to be a funerary relief, it is now clear that it represents a god and goddess on a cult-monument, and has been correctly so described in

<sup>68</sup> Frankfort, *Cylinder-Seals* (London 1939), pp. 157–8.

<sup>69</sup> W. Andrae, *Kultrelief aus dem Brunnen des Assurtempels* (Leipzig 1931).

<sup>70</sup> Seton Lloyd, *Early Highland Peoples of Anatolia* (London 1967), fig. 65.

<sup>71</sup> E. Dhorme, *Les religions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie* (Paris 1955), pp. 124, 137.

<sup>72</sup> V. Grace, "The Canaanite Jar", in *Aegean and the Near East: Studies presented to Hetty Goldman* (New York 1956). J. Kinneir Wilson, *The Nimrud Wine Lists* (London 1972).

<sup>73</sup> J. B. Pritchard, "New Evidence of the Role of the Sea People in Canaan", in W. Ward (ed.), *The role of the Phoenicians in the Interaction of Mediterranean Civilizations* (Beirut 1968); Barnett, "The Nimrud Bowls in the British Museum", *Rivista di Studi Fenici* II (1974), pp. 30–31. Pritchard associated the introduction of this fashion with the coming of the "Sea-Peoples".

<sup>74</sup> The industry is proved by the common Judaeon jar handles stamped with royal inscriptions, large numbers of which have now been found in excavations at Lachish.

<sup>75</sup> Wild grape-pips were found at Korucutepe, J. Boessneck and A. von der Driesch, "The Excavations at Korucutepe . . .", *J.N.E.S.* 33 (1974), p. 114.

<sup>76</sup> T. Özgüç, *Kültepe Kazisi Raporu* 1948 (Ankara 1950), pl. LXVIII, 447; *Kültepe Kazisi Raporu* 1949 (Ankara 1953), pl. LV, fig. 520.

recent publications.<sup>77</sup> The other illustration is, of course, the great figure of Tarḫu at Ivriz, whom our figure somewhat resembles by her proportions and facial characteristics and by her offering of grapes. Is she his Anatolian consort? And if she were, what would be her name? In Lydia she might be a form of the goddess Semelō, who was worshipped at Sardis as consort of Dios, in company with the younger male deity Marivdas.<sup>78</sup> This deity is better known to later scholarship through the medium of Greek myth as the maiden Semelē (earth-goddess?) beloved of Zeus, who bore to him the babe Dionysus, god of wine, to whom she gave birth in a storm of lightning and thunder.<sup>79</sup>

Nevertheless the Maraş stele and the Ivriz relief appear to indicate that as grapes appear as an attribute or gift only of a male deity, a goddess of wine, and in particular a nude figure as represented on this gold plaque, is unfamiliar in Anatolia and such a cult has more in common with the traditions of Mesopotamia.

*Conclusion.* We have here a small but important and highly sophisticated example of the jeweller's art of Western Asia which neatly fills a gap in the history of that art in the 9th or early 8th century B.C., exhibiting influences in technology derived from Egypt, Syria, Iran and Mesopotamia. It is a small cult object, connected by its subject matter alike with the worships of Anatolia, Syria and Mesopotamia.

As the goldsmiths and their products were highly mobile in antiquity, it is impossible now to say where exactly it was made; equally, where it was found is unfortunately no longer ascertainable. The frontier of North-Syria or Eastern Anatolia seems a likely source, but it may have well been exported elsewhere abroad in antiquity. Until some further discovery is made to throw light on it, it remains impossible to say more.

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<sup>77</sup>M. Hirmer and E. Akurgal, op. cit. (London 1962), pl. 139; [Anon.] Catalogue, *Kunst und Kultur der Hethiter* (Zürich 1961), pl. 177. However, Orthmann, *Alte Orient*, p. 431, believes that this is a pair of funerary figures, adding that these attributes (grapes and mirror) are "often" met on stelae from Maraş, and that the bunch of grapes "may be seen as a symbol of life that has found its way into the cult of the dead". In fact, the grapes are shown held only on two other stelae (Orthmann, *Untersuchungen*, Maraş B/10 (by a standing male) and C/4 (by a seated female) *ibid.*, pls. 45, 46). These stelae from Maraş are no doubt funerary in purpose, but the human figures are in some way partly divinised; and the present sculpture in very high relief, almost in the round, is clearly more than a mere gravestone.

<sup>78</sup>Enno Littmann, *Sardis VI: Lydian Inscriptions* (Leyden 1916), p. 43.

<sup>79</sup>Apollodorus, iii, 4. 3 i Apollonius Rhodius, iv. 1137. R. Graves, *The Greek Myths* (Penguin 1975), vol. 1, p. 56.



## NERIK AND ITS “WEATHER-GOD”

By J. G. MACQUEEN

Hittite geography and Hittite religion have for many years been among Oliver Gurney's principal interests. It therefore gives me the greatest pleasure that this small contribution in his honour deals with both these subjects, especially since the text with which it is mainly concerned is one which I first studied many years ago under his supervision. Like so many others, I owe him a debt of gratitude which can never be adequately repaid.

For many years now it has been clear that in any attempt to locate the site of Nerik the most important fact to be kept in mind is that the town was for a long period in the hands of the Gasga-peoples.<sup>1</sup> Their capture of it was allegedly in the reign of Hantilis, and it was calculated that five hundred years passed before it was recovered by Hattusilis III. More probably however it fell into enemy hands in the reign of Arnuwandas I and his queen Asmunikkal, shortly after 1450 B.C. But whatever the exact details may be, it has to be accepted that any town subjected to an extended period of Gasgan occupation must have been situated to the north of Hattusas, in the direction of the area known in Classical times as Pontus. More recently there has been further evidence pointing to a similar conclusion.<sup>2</sup> Fragments from the Annals of Mursilis, in giving details of campaigns in areas containing place-names elsewhere associated with Nerik or with the Gasga, make it clear that while operating in these areas the Hittite king was reasonably close to the sea – and in this context the sea in question can only be the Black Sea.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, in the Illuyankas-myth, which is closely associated with Nerik, the battle between the dragon and the Weather-god takes place in the sea.<sup>4</sup> Most important of all, the *evocatio* of the Weather-god of Nerik (*KUB XXXVI 90*), in listing places in the same general area as Nerik from which the god is to be summoned, includes the town of Zalpa;<sup>5</sup> and Zalpa, as has recently been shown,<sup>6</sup> is to be located on the Black Sea coast near the mouth of the Kızılırmak. It is perhaps to be identified with the mound of İköztepe near Bafra, at present being excavated by Professor Dr U. Bahadır Alkım.

Thus the general area in which Nerik was situated is reasonably clear. It must have lain north of the defensive line which the Hittites for long periods of their history held against the Gasga; but in all probability it was not very far north of that line, for Hittite troops could campaign in its vicinity without being able to cross the *terra incognita* which lay between them and the sea,<sup>7</sup> and its recapture could be effected without any apparent large-scale invasion of the

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<sup>1</sup> For a full study of the Gasga-peoples and their history, see E. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* (Berlin 1965). A summary of the history of Nerik, and of its occupation by the Gasga-peoples, is to be found in V. Haas, *Der Kult von Nerik* (Rome 1970), 5 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Summarized by M. Forlanini, *L'Anatolia Nordoccidentale nell'Impero Eteo (Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici XVIII)* (1977), 197–225), 200–201.

<sup>3</sup> See now Philo H. J. Houwink ten Cate, Mursilis' North-Western Campaigns – Additional Fragments of his Comprehensive Annals concerning the Nerik Region: *Florilegium Anatolicum: Melanges Offerts à Emmanuel Laroche* (Paris 1979), 157–167.

<sup>4</sup> E. Laroche, *RHA* 77 (1965) 70 – A III 22 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> *KUB XXXVI 90*, Obv. 31.

<sup>6</sup> H. Otten, *Eine althethitische Erzählung um die Stadt Zalpa (SBoT 17, 1973)*, 14–15, 57 sq.

<sup>7</sup> Houwink ten Cate, op. cit., 160 sqq.



further parts of the Gasga-lands.<sup>8</sup> The position of the Hittite/Gasga boundary-line is difficult to define with precision. Certainly one cannot make confident identifications for towns like Hattina and Hanhana, which were situated on or near it.<sup>9</sup> But if one can accept, as seems reasonable, the long-standing suggestion<sup>10</sup> that the important town of Hakpis is to be located at modern Amasya, then geographical considerations suggest that the most defensible line would be that which runs through Merzifon and Gümüşhacıköy, just south of the range of the Tavşan Dağ, to the Kızılırmak at Osmaniye. It is to the north of this line, therefore, that we ought to look for Nerik.

A new approach to the problem of fixing the position of Nerik was introduced by Güterbock in 1961,<sup>11</sup> when he made use of a passage from the *Beschwörungsritual KUB XXXVI 89*. This text, which is designed to bring the Weather-god of Nerik back to his home-town, contains a mythological passage which includes the following lines (rev. 11–14):

- 11 *zi-ik-ma-wa* <sup>ÍD</sup> [*Ma-ra-aš*] -ša-a [*n-ta-aš A-N*] A <sup>D</sup> U URU *Ne-ri-ik ZI-ni ma-ni-in-ku-w* [*a-an-za*]  
 12 <sup>ÍD</sup> *Ma-ra-aš-ša-an-ta-aš-wa an-na-al-la-za* <sup>△</sup> *i-pa-at-tar-ma-ia-an a-ar-ša-aš*  
 13 <sup>D</sup> U *aš-ma-wa-ra-an wa-aḫ-nu-ut nu-wa-ra-an* <sup>D</sup> UTU-i DINGIR <sup>LIM</sup> *-an ar-ša-nu-ut*  
 14 *ma-an-ni-in-ku-wa-an ar-ša-nu-ut*

You, Marassantas, are close to the heart of the Weather-god of Nerik. Formerly the Marassantas flowed in another course; but the Weather-god turned it and made it flow towards the Sun-god of the gods; he made it flow near Nerik.

Güterbock in interpreting this passage takes it that the myth is aetiological, and that it seeks to explain why there is a sharp bend in the River Marassantas (i.e. the Kızılırmak) which makes it flow unexpectedly close to Nerik. He then points to the abrupt turn taken by the river near Kargı, and suggests that Nerik is to be located near this bend, on the slopes of the Adadağ, round which the river flows. Güterbock's suggestion is an attractive one, and has found a measure of support.<sup>12</sup> But it is based on textual evidence only, and has run into difficulties when confronted by the evidence of archaeological survey. A. M. Dinçol and J. Yakar have recently covered the area in detail, and have been unable to locate any settlements of the Hittite period in it.<sup>13</sup> It therefore seems necessary to abandon Güterbock's theory, and to look elsewhere. Dinçol and Yakar have suggested a position further to the north, above the line of Boyabat-Durağan-Vezirköprü and on the hills on one side or the other of the lower Kızılırmak valley.<sup>14</sup> Houwink ten Cate, in commenting on this, supports the arguments of von Schuler which point to a position to the east rather than the west of the

<sup>8</sup> *Hattusilis III*, 46–54.

<sup>9</sup> J. Garstang and O. R. Gurney, *The Geography of the Hittite Empire* (London 1959), 6 sqq. A. Goetze, "The Roads of Northern Cappadocia in Hittite Times" (*RHA* 15, 1957, 93 sqq.).

<sup>10</sup> *RHA* 1 (1930) p. 26.

<sup>11</sup> H. G. Güterbock, The North-Central Area of Hittite Anatolia, *JNES* XX (1961), 85–97.

<sup>12</sup> E.g. Haas, op. cit., 5.

<sup>13</sup> A. M. Dinçol and J. Yakar, The Theories on the localisation of Nerik Reconsidered. *Belleten* XXXVIII (1974), 573–581.

<sup>14</sup> Dinçol and Yakar, op. cit., 580.

river,<sup>15</sup> and it has recently been suggested that Nerik is to be identified with the site of Oymaağaç Tepe (Hükük Tepe), 7 km. northwest of Vezirköprü, where there are extensive remains of the second half of the second millennium B.C.<sup>16</sup> Certainly this must be an important site of the Hittite period; but there is no sharp bend of the Kızılırmak in the immediate vicinity of Oymaağaç, and if we accept the identification it is difficult to see, despite the arguments of Dinçol and Yakar, how Güterbock's mythological text can be explained.

The evidence of *KUB XXXVI 89* cannot, however, be dismissed out of hand. Any "explanation" of a myth can only be tentative and uncertain; but the suggestion that the myth used by Güterbock is aetiological in origin and in purpose does carry some conviction. How then can it be used to help us to locate Nerik? "It is evident", says Güterbock,<sup>17</sup> "that the story is aetiological in that it serves to explain a sudden turn in the course of the river by saying that, whereas it would otherwise not have touched Nerik, it was brought there by divine intervention." This is true as far as it goes. But it does not, I think, go far enough. In considering the passage we ought not to stop, as Güterbock does, at rev. 14. The continuation of the text is as follows:

- 14 nu DU-aš A-NA ID *Ma-ra-aš-ša-an-ta te-e-et*  
 15 *ma-a-an-wa-kán* DU URU *Ne-ri-ik ku-iš-ki kar-t[i-m] i-ia-nu-zi nu-wa-ra-aš-kán*  
 16 URU *Ne-ri-ik-ka<sub>4</sub>-za* GIŠ *da-ḫa-an-qa-za ar-ḫa i-ia-an-n[i-ia]-zi zi-ik-ma-wa-ra-an*  
 17 ID *Ma-ra-aš-ša-an-ta-aš dam-mi-e-da-ni ID-i dam-[mi-e-d] a-ni TÚL-i le-e tar-na-at-ti*
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- 18 DU ANE-wa ID *Ma-ra-aš-ša-an-ta te-e-et le-en-ki-i[a-wa]-ta e-es-du*  
 19 *nu-wa-za-kán a-ar-ša-nu le-e wa-aḫ-nu-ši nu-za-kán* ID [*Ma-ra-aš-ša-a*] *n-ta-aš ar-sa-nu*  
 20 Ú-UL *wa-aḫ-nu-ut šu-um-ma-ša-at DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> i-ia-at-te-e[n . . . ] tal-li-ia-du*  
 21 DU URU *Ne-ri-ik* ID *Na-ak-ki-li-ia-ta-aš a-ru-na-za-an ḫu-un-ḫu-eš-na-za GAM-an ar-ḫa ú-wa-te-ed-du*

And the Weather-god said to the Marassantas: "If anyone angers the Weather-god of Nerik, and he goes away from Nerik, from the *dahanga*, do not, Marassantas, let him go into another stream, into another spring".

The Weather-god of Heaven said to the Marassantas: "let it be an oath for you. Do not change your course!" And the Marassantas did not change its course. You, gods, made it (so). Let the Nakkiliyatas call on the Weather-god of Nerik. Let it bring him back from the sea, from the spring below.

The principal difficulty in this passage lies in deciding who is speaking at which point. Haas argues that the Weather-god (DU-aš) of lines 13 and 14 is the Weather-god of Heaven (DU ANE), who also speaks in lines 18 ff., and that his object is to stop the disappearance of the Weather-god of Nerik.<sup>18</sup> Certainly it is odd, as Haas points out, that if the speaker in lines 15–17 is the Weather-god of Nerik, he should talk of himself in the third person. But it is equally odd that if

<sup>15</sup> Houwink ten Cate, op. cit., 160, n. 20.

<sup>16</sup> Forlanini, op. cit., 201. *AS XXIII* (1973), 64.

<sup>17</sup> Güterbock, op. cit., 93.

<sup>18</sup> Haas, op. cit., 170.

lines 15–17 and 18–19 are spoken by the same god, the name of the speaker should be re-introduced, and more clearly specified, at the beginning of line 18, and that the god who in line 13 changed the course of the Marassantas should in line 19 order it specifically *not* to change its course. It is at least possible, I feel, that lines 15–17 are spoken by the Weather-god of Nerik, and that there is therefore a change of speaker at line 18. But whatever conclusion one may reach on this point, it is important to take note of the final part of the story. In the end (lines 19–20) the Marassantas *did not change its course*, and the task of transporting the Weather-god of Nerik was assigned not to the Marassantas but to a rival stream, the Nakkiliyatas.

How, if the myth is aetiological, are we to interpret this? We must, I think, take it not that Nerik lay close to the Marassantas, but that although the waters of the Marassantas (or of a tributary of the Marassantas), thanks to a sudden bend, flowed sufficiently close to Nerik to make it conceivable that a god had once intervened with the intention of making them flow past the town, Nerik was in fact sited on or near another river, the Nakkiliyatas, which was therefore in a position to transport the Weather-god of Nerik when transport to or from the sea was required. In other words we have to look for the site of Nerik in an area close to the watershed which divides the valley of the Kızılırmak from that of another stream, a stream the waters of which eventually find their way to the Black Sea.

While I was reflecting on this conclusion, I happened by chance to be reading W. J. Hamilton's fascinating account of his travels in Turkey in the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>19</sup> On August 1st, 1836, Hamilton left Vezirköprü (which he spells Vizir Keupri) for Ladık. I quote from his entry for that day:

MONDAY, August 1. Vizir Keupri to Ladik eight hours. It was near seven before we started. About a mile and a half from Vizir Keupri we began slowly ascending a narrow valley between low and undulating hills, and soon crossed a small stream flowing towards the north. At half-past seven there was a fountain on the right, and near it many fragments of columns and hewn blocks, some of which were built into the walls of cottages near the road side, having probably been brought from Vizir Keupri. As we advanced, the hills were covered with privet, but the furrows and ridges which we could detect beneath the vegetation were proofs of former culture. We continued ascending towards the S.S.E. until a quarter after eight, when we reached the top of the ridge, where porphyritic and trachytic rocks protruded through the surface. From thence, descending a wooded ravine by a winding road for two miles, we entered a sylvan valley, watered by the Staular, or Istaular Chai, flowing rapidly over its rocky bed from a high range of mountains to the S.W. Its course is here due east for several miles; but it afterwards turns N.E., and then N., falling, as I was informed, into the Kizil Irmak near Bafra. The wooded mountains to our right extending from east to west were at a distance of about four miles, the lofty peak called Yan, or Iyan Kaléh, which I had observed bearing S.40 W. from Vizir Keupri, being one of the highest points of the range. I was now told that there were some ruins on the summit, which may be the remains of Sagylum, the name given by Strabo to a fort in this neighbourhood.

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<sup>19</sup> W. J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus and Armenia* (London 1842).

The rocks which formed the northern or left bank of the river consist of volcanic peperite, and a decomposing trachyte, containing numerous angular fragments of other trachytes, varying much in colour and hardness. I observed no appearance of stratification, but the variations of colour rather indicated an inclination to the N.E. Leaving the valley of the Staular Chai on our left, we crossed another low range of hills, consisting chiefly of sand and gravel, and entered a rich valley, watered by a stream flowing towards Cauvsa. Passing the village of Sousanji, and crossing the stream, we followed its course until we reached the village and baths of Cauvsa, half way between Vizir Keupri and Ladik. Here must be the θερμὰ ὕδατα τῶν Φαζημωνιτῶν, described by Strabo, and to which he attributed great medicinal virtue. The place now consisted of some ruined buildings of Byzantine character, and a few shops and wooden sheds; while the sick population of the neighbourhood were living in huts made of sticks and branches on the hill side, their wet bathing clothes hanging out to dry on every branch and bush around them.

In the wall of the mosque were three Greek inscriptions, but written in such a barbarous character, on so bad a stone, and so ill placed, that I found it impossible to decipher them; they were all sepulchral. The other buildings were the baths, apparently of Byzantine construction; and higher up the hill one which bore marks of the Saracenic style, called the refectory of a Turkish medresséh, or college, the ruins of which covered a considerable space of ground below the baths. This college belonged to the Softa, a kind of monkish or religious order existing throughout Turkey, being a branch of the Ulemah; they were formerly a powerful and numerous body, but have lately been reduced. The baths are now little visited; about 30 families only being there, besides a few in the neighbouring villages, and some rich Turkish ladies from Tocat, Amasia, and other large towns. During the day time I was unable to visit the hot bath while the women were in possession, but I went in the evening, accompanied by Hafiz Agha, who, in his zeal, insisted upon carrying the light: notwithstanding this, he contrived to walk into the almost boiling water, tumbling in headforemost with the candle; his shouts and screams alone told me where he was, while the darkness into which we were thrown prevented my being of any use to him. The bath is built over the principal source, the thermometer rising to 125° Fahr. in the mouth of the pipe through which the water flowed into the bath. I did not observe any igneous rocks in the immediate neighbourhood of the village.

Tuesday, August 2. Cauvsa to Ladik four hours. After descending to and crossing the stream from Sousanji, we ascended another valley, watered by a much larger river, called the Sousacham Chai, which, flowing from the N.E., joins the Cauvsa stream, and then falls into the Iris below Amasia.<sup>20</sup>

At this point Hamilton went on in a south-easterly direction towards Ladik, and his journey no longer concerns us.

The route described above was also followed (in the opposite direction) by

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<sup>20</sup> Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 332–334.

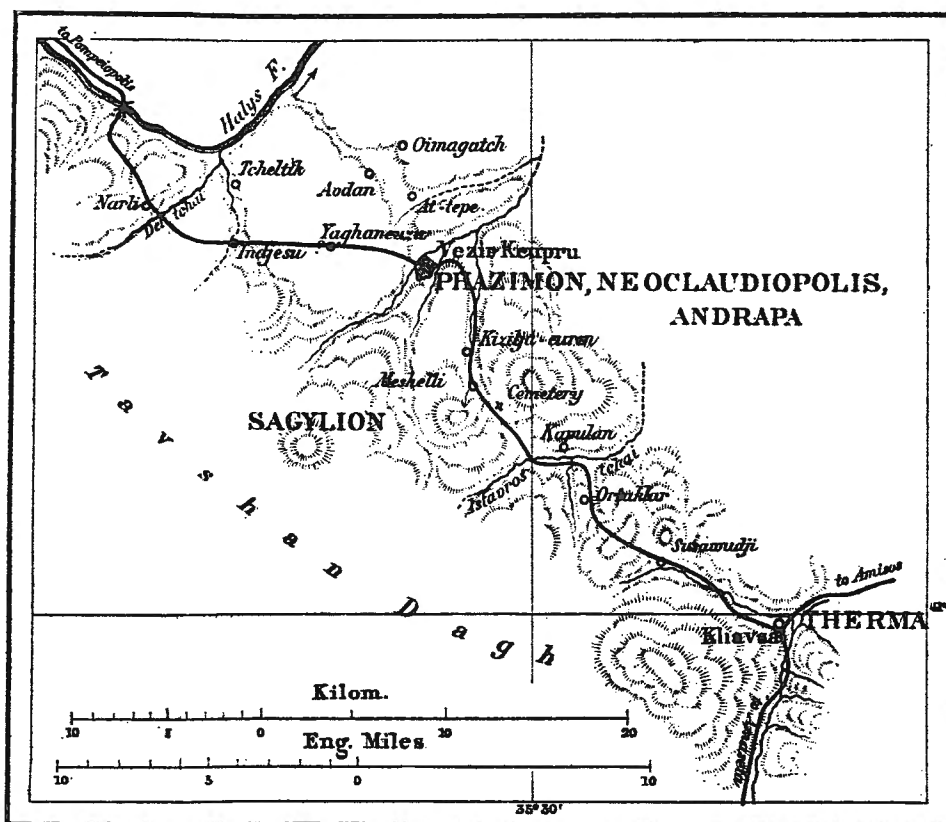


Fig. 1 Vezirköprü—Havza area: J. G. C. Anderson's map.

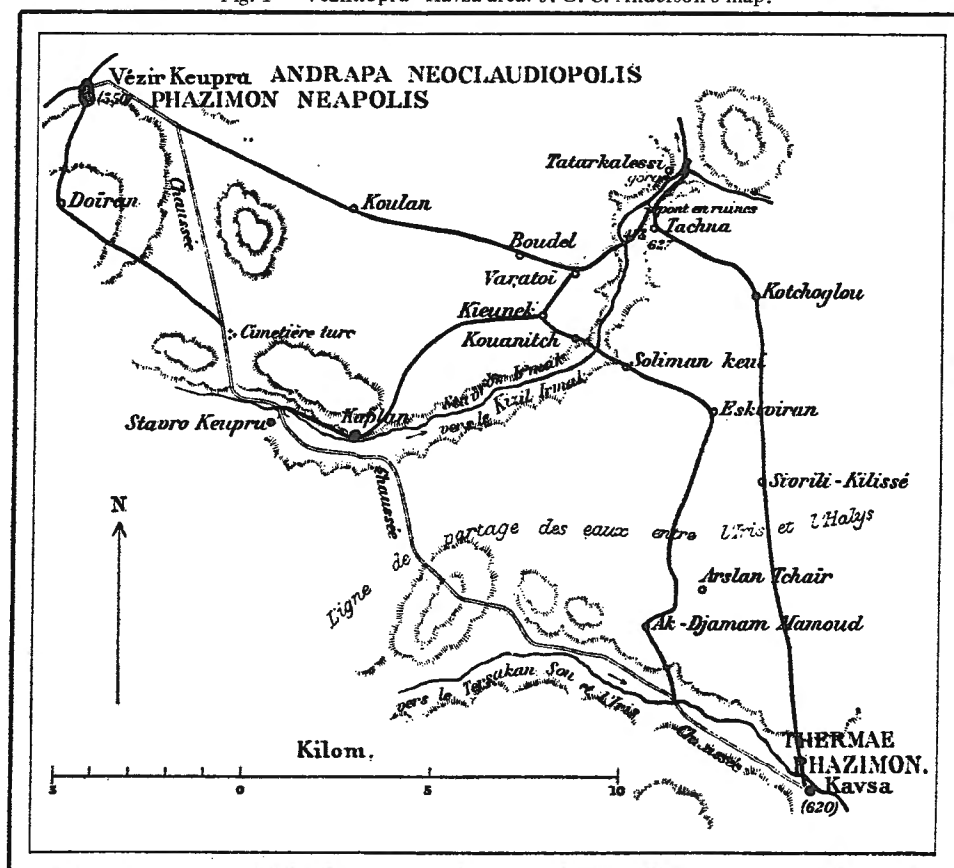


Fig. 2 Vezirköprü—Havza area: F. and E. Cumont's map.

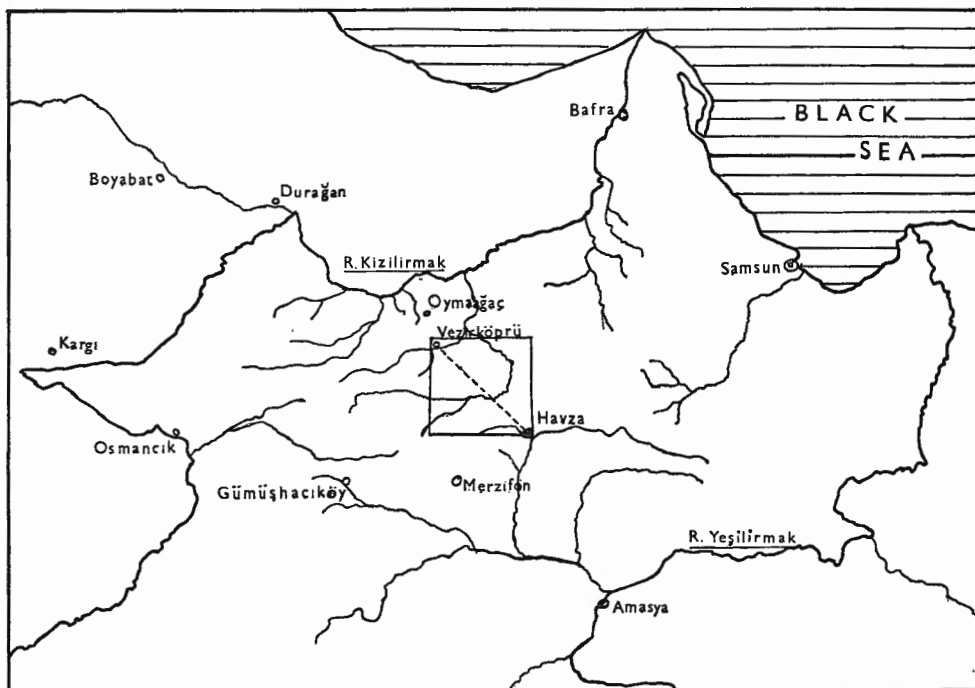


Fig. 3 Tributaries of the Kızılırmak and Yeşilirmak (simplified).

J. G. C. Anderson in August 1899,<sup>21</sup> and is shown on the map which he published in his account of his travels (Fig. 1). The following spring the region was traversed by Franz and Eugène Cumont,<sup>22</sup> and their map (Fig. 2) also illustrates Hamilton's narrative and at the same time clearly marks the "ligne de partage des eaux entre l'Iris et l'Halys". A more general map showing the relationship of the streams of the region to the two major rivers is given in Fig. 3. I cannot help feeling that the area described by these authors, situated as it is just north of the range of the Tavşan Dağ, which formed the boundary between Classical Phazimonitis and Amaseia, and which may well have previously been the boundary between Hatti and the Gasga-country, fulfils all the requirements which are necessary for the identification of the Nerik region. If this is so, then Nerik itself could well have been situated at modern Havza (which is spelled Cauvsa by Hamilton, Khavza by Anderson, and Kavza by the Cumonts), and the River Nakkiliyatas would then be the stream described by Hamilton as flowing past Sousanji and Havza and then joining the Iris (the Yeşilirmak) below Amasya.

If this suggestion is acceptable, some interesting results follow from it. A prominent feature of Havza is, and has been since at least the Classical period, the existence there of a hot spring which is claimed to have powerful medicinal qualities. Havza is to be identified with the θερμὰ ὕδατα τῶν Φαζημωνιτῶν described by Strabo as being ὑγιεινὰ σφόδρα,<sup>23</sup> and inscriptions found there show that offerings of thanks were made to Asclepius, described as ἀναξ Ἀσκληπιός and σωτήρ θεός.<sup>24</sup> A number of years ago I argued that there was evidence to suggest that the Weather-god of Nerik was not in origin a "weather-god" at all, and that rather than being linked with water that falls in the form of rain from the sky he

<sup>21</sup> J. G. C. Anderson, *Studia Pontica* I (Brussels 1903), 82–84, and Map IX.

<sup>22</sup> F. and E. Cumont, *Studia Pontica* II (Brussels 1906), 124 sqq., and Map XI.

<sup>23</sup> Strabo C560 (XII, 3, 38).

<sup>24</sup> J. G. C. Anderson, F. Cumont and H. Grégoire: *Studia Pontica* III (Brussels 1910), 37.

was primarily a god of water which rises from the ground through springs and wells.<sup>25</sup> In the first version of the myth which has just been used to locate Nerik the god's angry descent into a hole (*ḥateššar*) results in disaster for mankind,<sup>26</sup> while in the second version (quoted above) it is clear that the god in similar circumstances descends into a spring (TUL) and is transported by the River Nakki-liyatas.<sup>27</sup> The hot spring of Havza, the waters of which flow to the stream descending from Sousanji and eventually reach the Yeşilirmak, must, I think, be a strong candidate for the spring or hole which is so closely linked with the cult of Nerik's principal god.

It must of course be accepted that this suggestion, like that of Güterbock, is based only on textual evidence, and that reports of survey-work in the Havza region make no mention of any site at Havza itself.<sup>28</sup> But round the hot spring, which has been in continuous use at least since the Classical period, any Hittite remains would have been either totally destroyed or heavily overlaid by the extensive building works of later periods, and there is, I think, still a strong possibility that the equation is correct. If so, the *dahanga* cult-room, the central architectural feature of the worship at Nerik,<sup>29</sup> may in fact have been constructed over the hot spring itself.

Another aspect of the cult at Nerik which has important geographical implications in the worship there of Mount Haharwa.<sup>30</sup> Güterbock has shown that Haharwa is a mountain range rather than an isolated peak, and has suggested that it is to be equated with the Ada Dağ.<sup>31</sup> If Nerik was situated at Havza, then the obvious candidate for equation with Haharwa is the Tavşan Dağ range, which could be approached either from Nerik to the north or from Hanhana to the south, and which in other ways too fits in with the geographical indications to be gleaned from the texts. Archaeological survey on the slopes of the Tavşan Dağ might reveal remains of the "towns" mentioned in *KUB V 1* as being situated on Mount Haharwa. But one must always remember that although it is usual to describe as a "town" any settlement the name of which is preceded in a text by the determinative URU, such settlements can be of any size from the smallest and most archaeologically elusive hamlet (possibly only a house or two) to the four-hundred-acre site of Hattusas. One must not, especially in hill-country, where stone is much used and re-used in house-building, expect every settlement to be represented by an immediately recognisable hüyük.

Can we then see the deity of Nerik as being in any way similar to the local σωτήρ θεός of Havza, identified in the Classical period with Asclepius? Once again we can turn for help to *KUB XXXVI 89*. Despite the often fragmentary state of the text, its overall purpose is clear. The recital of the myths, and the ritual acts which accompany them, are designed to bring the god of Nerik back to his home, and to persuade him to look "with auspicious eyes" on the king and queen and other members of the royal family.<sup>32</sup> His departure had apparently resulted in the removal of "growth, life and long years" (*mijatar TI-tar MUḪIA GÍD.DA*)<sup>33</sup> from the royal pair, and his return will, it is hoped, restore to them,

<sup>25</sup> J. G. Macqueen, *Hittian Mythology and Hittite Monarchy: AS IX* (1959), 171–188.

<sup>26</sup> *KUB XXXVI 89*, obv. 12–17.

<sup>27</sup> *KUB XXXVI 89*, rev. 1–23.

<sup>28</sup> *AS XXIII* (1973), 64–65. *AS XXIV* (1974), 50–51.

<sup>29</sup> Haas, *op. cit.*, 168–169.

<sup>30</sup> *KUB VI 45 i 71* = *KUB VI 46 ii 36*.

<sup>31</sup> Güterbock, *op. cit.*, 93–95.

<sup>32</sup> Obv. 27–29: rev. 50–51.

<sup>33</sup> Obv. 16–17.

and to the land, “well-being” (*aššu*),<sup>34</sup> “well-being and life” (*assu* and *TI-tar*).<sup>35</sup> and “life, vitality and long years” (*TI-tar innarawater MU GID.DA 𒀭.A*).<sup>36</sup> The only means specified in the text by which this will be achieved is the gift of “soft rain” (*meuš heuš*);<sup>37</sup> but while this is entirely suitable for the restoration of life to the land, it is difficult to see what effect it will have on the king and queen, apart from making them wet and perhaps causing them to catch cold. In my earlier article I argued that behind the Hittite myth and ritual which we find here lies an older Hattian myth and ritual connected with underground waters. If these underground waters had medicinal powers, then they could indeed bring “life, vitality and long years” to the monarch and his consort, and their deity would indeed have qualities which in a later period could be regarded as those of the healing god Asclepius. Thus it is perhaps not too far-fetched to suggest that in the representation of Asclepius placed on their coins by the people of Neoclaudiopolis (Vezirköprü) in acknowledgement of that deity’s gift of the medicinal springs which lay within their territory at Havza, we may see a Classical portrayal of the deity who was known in Hittite times as the Weather-god of Nerik.<sup>39</sup>



Fig. 4 Coin of Neoclaudiopolis, with figure of Asclepius. *Photo Ashmolean Library, Oxford.*

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It is interesting to note that if my suggestion proves unacceptable, and the proposal that Nerik is to be sited at Oymaağaç Tepe is preferred, there is at that site clear archaeological evidence for a corbelled underground passage leading to a spring.<sup>40</sup> Perhaps this passage had a purely practical function; but it is tempting to see in it yet another instance of the connection between a “weather-god” and a source of underground waters.

<sup>34</sup> Rev. 61.

<sup>35</sup> Rev. 45.

<sup>36</sup> Obv. 33.

<sup>37</sup> Rev. 54: rev. 60.

<sup>38</sup> Macqueen, *op. cit.*, 172–173.

<sup>39</sup> If the connection between the Weather-god of Nerik and the hot spring of Havza can be accepted it is possible that a similar connection may be helpful in identifying the sites of other shrines (e.g. Zippalanda) at which “Weather-gods” were worshipped.

<sup>40</sup> *AS XXIII* (1973), 64. The position of Oymaağaç Tepe is shown on the maps in Figs. 1 and 3.





## ROYAL TITLES FROM THE MESOPOTAMIAN PERIPHERY

By WILLIAM W. HALLO

Much attention is currently lavished on the roles of the Mesopotamian core area relative to those of the periphery which surrounded it in a great arc.<sup>1</sup> The periphery drew much of its cultural inspiration from the core, but not in any kind of monolithic way: present indications are that it was more often open to influence from what might be termed "Akkadian" than "Sumerian" traditions. In matters of script, language, calendar, legal terminology and numerous other features, it seems to have perpetuated innovations ultimately going back to Sargonic rule or inspiration. But it is equally clear that the direction of influence was not exclusively outward from the core to the periphery. As the example of the geographical atlas of the Ancient Near East attested at Ebla and at Abū Šalābīk has already shown, it sometimes went the other way.<sup>2</sup> The case of the royal titulary may provide a further example of the influence of the periphery on the Mesopotamian core.

Twenty-five years ago, I studied the evolution of the royal titulary in essentially historical terms, as I attempted to date the first appearance of each royal title within Mesopotamia.<sup>3</sup> Only occasional suggestions were offered for the possible prehistory of some titles outside Mesopotamia.<sup>4</sup> These suggestions can now be followed up and expanded in the light of additional data.

In general it may be said that the royal titles first attested in Early Dynastic Mesopotamia<sup>5</sup> continue to be at home there, owing no demonstrable debt to any foreign precedent; they are, indeed, part and parcel of the indigenous evolution of the royal office in its characteristic forms, and are more often than not themselves models for later features of kinship in many parts of the world.<sup>6</sup> Beginning with Sargonic times, however, this situation changes significantly.

If we may ignore the later traditions about Lugalannemundu of Adab,<sup>7</sup> the first great innovator in respect of the royal titulary was Naram-Sin of Akkad. To begin with, he introduced the concept of the kingship of the four quarters, i.e., the "four regions of the inhabited world".<sup>8</sup> This concept no doubt reflected the rule over the native lands (k i) of Sumer and Akkad combined with the conquest of such foreign lands (k u r) as Subartu, Amurru and Elam.<sup>9</sup> It was translated into purely geographical terms in the first millennium formulations in which Elam, Subartu, Amurru and Akkad represented east, north, west and south

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<sup>1</sup>See the forthcoming report of the 25th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, devoted to "Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn".

<sup>2</sup>See Giovanni Pettinato, "The royal archives of Tell Mardikh-Ebla", *Biblical Archaeologist* 39 (1976) 52; *idem*, "L'Atlante geografico del Vicino Oriente Antico attestato ad Ebla e ad Abū Šalābīkh(I)", *Orientalia* 47 (1978) 50–73 and pls. vii–xii; for a slightly different view, see Robert Biggs, "The Ebla tablets: an interim perspective", *Biblical Archaeologist* 43 (1980), 84 f.

<sup>3</sup>William W. Hallo, *Early Mesopotamian Royal Titles: a Philologic and Historical Analysis* (= AOS 43, 1957) (hereafter EMRT).

<sup>4</sup>EMRT pp. 66, 98.

<sup>5</sup>EMRT ch. 2.

<sup>6</sup>See for this evolution W. W. Hallo and W. K. Simpson, *The Ancient Near East: a History* (NY, Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovitch, 1971) (hereafter ANEH), 34–53.

<sup>7</sup>ANEH pp. 51, 73 f.; cf. also Hallo, "Gutium", *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 3 (1971), 709.

<sup>8</sup>So CAD K 311b.

<sup>9</sup>For a scheme incorporating all five regions, cf. ANEH p. 23.

respectively.<sup>10</sup> It is found in early second millennium lexical contexts<sup>11</sup> and in epical contexts that may go back to the late third millennium.<sup>12</sup> But the earliest model of the concept, it has been suggested, may well be provided by the discoveries at Ebla. There a “quadripartite concept of the universe presumably typical of Ebla’s ideology” was expressed both in its figurative art<sup>13</sup> and in the division of that city into four quarters.<sup>14</sup> Although the title as such has not turned up at Ebla, it is certainly true that Naram-Sin claimed the (first) conquest of the city, and with it, conceivably, the right to adopt the concept for his own purposes. (The claim of his own grandfather Sargon to have preceded him in this conquest was conveniently ignored by Naram-Sin.)

Naram-Sin was also the first Mesopotamian king to accept deification in his lifetime, an honor bestowed on his grandfather and father only posthumously.<sup>15</sup> (The votive seal of Taribu<sup>16</sup> was dedicated to the deified Maništušu presumably after the death of that king, since it includes no [other] royal titles.) Royal deification was never well rooted in Mesopotamia, however, and may rather have represented an importation from abroad. The precise time and occasion in Naram-Sin’s reign for this drastic innovation, not only in the titular but in the very conception of kingship, is difficult to determine.<sup>17</sup> According to an intriguing new proposal by Jacobsen, it was “when the four quarters as one turned hostile toward him, (and) he . . . was victorious in nine battles . . . with them in one year (that) his city requested him as its protective deity from the major gods of the country”.<sup>18</sup> Interestingly enough, this, the most explicit contemporary reference to the “great conspiracy”<sup>19</sup> or “general insurrection”<sup>20</sup> occurs on the massive statue of Naram-Sin recently discovered at Bassetki in northernmost Iraq.<sup>21</sup> It is unlikely that so heavy a monument would have turned up anywhere except at or near its original location, and one is therefore tempted to conclude that the assumption of the divinity title as chronicled on it was specifically linked

<sup>10</sup> E. F. Weidner and O. Neugebauer, “Die Himmelsrichtungen bei den Babyloniern”, AfO 7 (1931–2), 269 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. the Old Babylonian forerunners to HAR - r a = *hubullu* XXI edited in MSL 11:105: 309–14 (cf. *ibid.*, 132 vi 2–4) and the comments of Georges Dossin, “Kengen, pays de Canaan”, *Scritti . . . Furlani* (= RSO 32) 35–39 and W. H. Ph. Römer, “Studien zu altbabylonischen hymnisch-epischen Texten”, WO 4 (1967), 19.

<sup>12</sup> See the “Golden Age” passage in “Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta”, lines 136–56, esp. 141–44, for which see most recently O. R. Gurney, AfO 25 (1974–77), 170 f. (with previous literature). Cf. also the “Curse of Agade”, lines 45–50.

<sup>13</sup> Paolo Matthiae, “Tell Mardikh: the archives and the palace”, *Archaeology* 30 (1977), 248. The reference is to seal impressions on clay bullae showing “a kneeling Atlas who holds, over his head, a complex symbol composed of two lion heads and two human heads in crosslike opposition”.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*; cf. Pettinato 1976 (op. cit. note 2), 47 and, in detail, G. Pettinato and P. Matthiae, “Aspetti amministrativi e topografici di Ebla nel III millennio av. Cr.”, *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 50 (1976), 1–30.

<sup>15</sup> Hans Hirsch, “Die Inschriften der Könige von Agade”, AfO 20 (1963), 5, 16 *sub* “Das Nachleben . . . im Kult” and add W. G. Lambert, “A new source for the reign of Nabonidus”, AfO 22 (1969), 1–8 and Douglas Kennedy, “Realia”, RA 63 (1969), 79.

<sup>16</sup> Hirsch (op. cit. note 15), p. 16(3).

<sup>17</sup> See EMRT 59 f. for one estimate.

<sup>18</sup> “Iphur-Kiši and his times”, AfO 26 (1978–9), 12 and note 45.

<sup>19</sup> So Jacobsen, *ibid.* and pp. 13 f.

<sup>20</sup> So A. K. Grayson and E. Sollberger, “L’insurrection générale contre Nārām-Suen”, RA 70 (1976), 103–28.

<sup>21</sup> A. H. Ayish, “Bassetki statue with an Old Akkadian inscription”, *Sumer* 32 (1976), 63–75 and 2 pls.; Tariq Madhlom, “Studies on Akkadian bronze statue”, *ibid.* (Arabic part), 41–48 and pls.; Fawzi Reshid, “Preliminary studies . . .”, *ibid.* 49–58 and pls.

to a triumph in those distant parts, perhaps over a northern opponent who had previously claimed the title. Conceivably this was Man(i)um king of Magan, who in an Old Babylonian account of the event, figures between the northern and southern groups of antagonists.<sup>22</sup> Although it is now generally held that in the third millennium Magan lay far to the south and east of Mesopotamia,<sup>23</sup> rather than in the north, let alone in Egypt to the west,<sup>24</sup> it nevertheless is worth noting that the later historiographic traditions, which emphasized Naram-Sin's defeat of Magan,<sup>25</sup> equated this exotic land with Egypt which, in Old Kingdom times, was far more hospitable to the concept of royal deification than Mesopotamia ever became.<sup>26</sup>

At the height of his powers, Naram-Sin entitled himself "mighty" (*dannum*) or, as I would now simply translate, "the great". Again we must dispose of alleged claims that he was anticipated in this by his father: the restoration of this title in the (forged) cuneiform monument of Maništušu<sup>27</sup> is far from certain;<sup>28</sup> and even if this portion of it has authentic precedent in real inscriptions,<sup>29</sup> these need not go back before Naram-Sin. But as already intimated earlier,<sup>30</sup> the latter may well have been anticipated in this usage by Epir-mupi and Kutik-Inšušinak (= Puzur-Inšušinak)<sup>31</sup> of Susa. Although Hirsch has questioned the synchronism between Epir-mupi and Rimuš in the early Sargonic period<sup>32</sup> and Boehmer now dates Epir-mupi to the late Sargonic or Gutian period,<sup>33</sup> there are equally compelling grounds for placing him in the high Sargonic period as an earlier contemporary of Kutik-Inšušinak and Naram-Sin<sup>34</sup> — among them the possible occurrence of the name (as patronymic!) already under Maništušu, as Boehmer himself first pointed out.<sup>35</sup> Whatever the precise chronological relationship of Epir-mupi and Kutik-Inšušinak to Naram-Sin (and to the unnamed vassal in his

<sup>22</sup> Grayson and Sollberger (op. cit. note 20), 112 line 35 (Text G); Jacobsen (op. cit. note 18), p. 12 says he is listed there (!) "as a member of the northern coalition".

<sup>23</sup> I. J. Gelb, "Makhan and Meluhha in early Mesopotamian sources", *RA* 64 (1970), 1–8.

<sup>24</sup> Arthur Ungnad, "Der Akkader Narām-Sin und der Ägypter Mani", *AfO* 14 (1942), 199 f.

<sup>25</sup> A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* (= Texts from Cuneiform Sources 5, 1970), 154 and 224.

<sup>26</sup> Ernest Posener, *De la divinité du pharaon* (= Cahiers de la Société Asiatique 15, 1960); Winfried Barta, *Untersuchungen zur Göttlichkeit der regierenden Könige* (= Münchener Ägyptologische Studien 32, 1975); but see the critique by David Lorton, "Towards a constitutional approach to ancient Egyptian kingship", *JAOS* 99 (1979), 460–65.

<sup>27</sup> See e.g. Riecke Borger, *Einleitung in die assyrischen Königsinschriften: 1. Teil* (= Handbuch der Orientalistik: 1. Abt., Erg. 5/1/1, 1961), 13 note 3.

<sup>28</sup> Sollberger, "The cruciform monument", *JEOL* 20 (1968), 54 lines 5 f. restores [LUGAL / *da-nūm*].

<sup>29</sup> W. W. Hallo and J. J. A. Van Dijk, *The Exaltation of Inanna* (= YNER 3, 1968) (hereafter YNER 3), 7 note 48.

<sup>30</sup> EMRT 65 f.

<sup>31</sup> For the Elamite reading see Walther Hinz, "Zur Entzifferung der elamischen Strichschrift", *Iranica Antiqua* 2 (1962), 7 f. For another view see Wolfram Nagel and Eva Strommenger, "Reichsakkadische Glyptik und Plastik im Rahmen der mesopotamisch-elamischen Geschichte", *BJV* 8 (1968), 191 f., note 81.

<sup>32</sup> Hirsch (op. cit. note 15), 61 *ad* 22:6.

<sup>33</sup> Rainer Boehmer, "Zur Datierung des Epirmupi", *ZA* 58 (1967), 302–10.

<sup>34</sup> Nagel and Strommenger (op. cit. note 31), 185–206. See especially the chart p. 205. Cf. also Walter Hinz, *The Lost World of Elam*, tr. by Jennifer Barnes (NYU Press, 1973), 74.

<sup>35</sup> Rainer M. Boehmer, "Datierte Glyptik der Akkade-Zeit", *Vorderasiatische Archäologie* (= Festschrift Moortgat, 1964), 46, note 14. Cf. Hinz, *CAH*<sup>3</sup> (1971), 650.

treaty with Elam),<sup>36</sup> the possibility remains that one or both of the Elamite rulers could have inspired the adoption of their distinctive title by the king of Akkad.

After Naram-Sin, the next great introducers of new royal titles were the kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur. Leaving aside a dubious "Ur-ur king of Sumer and king of Akšak",<sup>37</sup> Ur-Nammu of Ur, in the course of his reign, first consciously proclaimed the union of south and north under his rule by means of the title "king of Sumer and Akkad".<sup>38</sup> Not only was the title new, but the very idea of linking Sumer and Akkad, in spite of Sargonic efforts to this end,<sup>39</sup> is attested only in texts of Ur-Nammu and, to a lesser extent, Šulgi in the third millennium, according to Wilcke's exhaustive survey;<sup>40</sup> the reference in Temple Hymn No. 2 probably dates to this same time.<sup>41</sup>

True, there was native precedent of sorts for double titles: in late Early Dynastic III times, royal claim to the rule over Sumer was often expressed by the double titles explicitly or implicitly alluding to Uruk and Ur.<sup>42</sup> But at that time each unit rated its own title, e.g. "lord of Sumer and king of the nation", or at least repetition of the title, as in "king of Uruk and king of Ur", suggesting the idea of a true condominium. The model for a dual monarchy ruling over historically discrete parts may rather have come from further afield.

In the decades immediately preceding Ur-Nammu, Atal-shen ruled an extensive area of Hurrian settlement under the title of "king of Urkiš and Nawar". This title, "which groups two cities distant from each other in order to designate the entirety of the land (of Subartu)",<sup>43</sup> was recognized as an analogy to the Mesopotamian title by Parrot and Nougayrol.<sup>44</sup> Their further notion that it was borrowed from Ur-Nammu implies that Atal-shen was his (later) contemporary. Although this is not impossible,<sup>45</sup> it is preferable to regard Atal-šen, along with Diš-atal of Karahar and Diš-atal of Urkiš as all belonging to the late Sargonic period.<sup>46</sup> It has even been suggested that both names are synonymous, meaning "the moon god is strong" or the like.<sup>47</sup> If so it may be suggested that one and the same person ruled as *endan* of Urkiš and king of Karahar before uniting both realms and, conceivably, aspiring to (more) universal dominion. Although Ur-Nammu did not conquer the Hurrian frontier — it was left for his son Šulgi to wage repeated war there<sup>48</sup> — he may well have borrowed the idea of a double title from the Hurrian model when he was acknowledged by the priesthood at Nippur

<sup>36</sup>Walter Hinz, "Elams Vertrag mit Narām-Sîn von Akkade", *ZA* 58 (1967), 66–96.

<sup>37</sup>D. O. Edzard, S. Farber and E. Sollberger, *Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes* 1 (1977), 10, 86 f. Cf. [E. F. Weidner (?)], *AfO* 8 (1932–33), 80.

<sup>38</sup>EMRT 77–88.

<sup>39</sup>YNER 3:9 f.

<sup>40</sup>RAI 19 (1974), 202–32, esp. p. 224.

<sup>41</sup>Sjöberg, *TCS* 3 (1969), 18 (line 28); for the date, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 6 (A<sub>1</sub> and A<sub>2</sub>) and 8.

<sup>42</sup>EMRT 5 f.

<sup>43</sup>Edmond Sollberger and Jean-Robert Kupper, *Inscriptions royales Sumériennes et Akkadiennes* (= *Littératures Anciennes du Proche-Orient* 3, 1971), 128.

<sup>44</sup>André Parrot and Jean Nougayrol, "Un document de fondation Hurrite", *RA* 42 (1948), 18 f.

<sup>45</sup>I. J. Gelb, "New light on Hurrians and Subarians", *Studi Orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida* 1 (1956), 381 dates Atal-šen's inscription "either from the late Sargonic or the early Ur III period".

<sup>46</sup>*Ibid.* and Sollberger and Kupper (*op. cit.* note 43), 128.

<sup>47</sup>André Finet, "Adalšenni, roi de Burundum", *RA* 60 (1966), 17, note 9.

<sup>48</sup>See in detail W. W. Hallo, "Simurru and the Hurrian frontier", *RAI* 24 (= *RHA* 36, 1978), 71–83.

and crowned as sovereign of the two lands which flanked Nippur "to right and left".<sup>49</sup>

The other neo-Sumerian contribution to the royal titulary was Amar-Sin's introduction, late in his reign, of the new title "mighty (or great) king" (l u g a l k a l a - g a ). It was clearly inspired by the older title "mighty man" (or simply "the great"), which it replaced, but we are still entitled to ask for the proximate source of the particular substitution. Now Amar-Sin fought campaigns all along the eastern frontier, from Anšan in the south to Šašrum and Urbilum in the north. Thus he could well have come in contact with the Lullubi whose territory lay in the Zagros foothills, somewhere between the Elamite and Hurrian frontiers, even though he did not, like Šulgi, specifically claim to have defeated them.<sup>50</sup> The inscription of Annu-banini of Lullubum employs the new title, and should it "antedate Amar-Sin's eighth year, we would then be forced to consider the possibility that the latter took the title over from Annu-banini by right of conquest, and that its origin lies outside the cuneiform tradition".<sup>51</sup>

It may perhaps be appropriate to quote a private communication of W. G. Lambert made long ago in reference to this suggestion. "The Cuthaeen Legend of Naram-Sin can perhaps be considered as a very dubious witness to the date of Annu-banini. While there are certain obviously legendary features about it, there are others which imply a sound historical tradition. The moral to which the story leads up is quite irrelevant to the story, and shows that the writer has not manipulated his material for sermonising. Then the names of the kings, which could easily have become corrupt, show reduplicated types: mi-du-du etc., which are typically Old Akkadian. This then is some kind of evidence of a connection of Annu-banini with the Old Akkadian period. I am sure you will not put too much on it!"<sup>52</sup>

Annu-banini is not specifically named king of Lullubum in the Cuthaeen legend;<sup>53</sup> on the contrary, the king of Lullubum identified by name in other literary-historical texts about Naram-Sin is now known to have borne the name *La-pa-na-i-la*<sup>54</sup> or [ . . . ]-*a'-el*,<sup>55</sup> while a contemporary inscription speaks of a certain Satuni.<sup>56</sup> Thus Lambert's caution is today as apt as when first expressed. But the possibility that Annu-banini antedates Amar-Sin has not been entirely ruled out by Edzard in his new edition of the inscription.<sup>57</sup> Therewith the introduction of yet another royal title from the periphery remains arguable.

The Old Babylonian period was considerably less productive of new royal titles than its predecessors. As the Ur III empire crumbled and its provinces reasserted their independence, they resorted to a complex "pattern of

<sup>49</sup> Above, note 41. Cf. Hallo, "The coronation of Ur-Nammu", JCS 20 (1966), 134, note 22 and 138 f.

<sup>50</sup> Horst Klengel, "Lullubum. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der altvorderasiatischen Gebirgs-völker", MIO 11 (1966), 349–71, esp. 352–54.

<sup>51</sup> EMRT 98.

<sup>52</sup> Letter of 10–31–57. Cf. also M. C. Astour, JBL 95 (1976), 574.

<sup>53</sup> O. R. Gurney, "The Cuthaeen legend of Naram-Sin", An. St. 5 (1955), 93 f.; cf. also Hallo (op. cit. note 7), 709.

<sup>54</sup> Grayson and Sollberger (op. cit. note 20), 126.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid. 115:4'.

<sup>56</sup> SAK 166g; cf. Hirsch (op. cit. note 15), 17 (1).

<sup>57</sup> Dietz O. Edzard, "Zwei Inschriften am Felsen von Sar-i-Pūl-i-Zohāb: Anubanini 1 und 2", AfO 24 (1973), 73–77. This represents a slight modification of his earlier position in ZA 54 (1961), 258 n. 2.

usurpation”<sup>58</sup> in which, while not initially claiming royal titles for their own rulers, they conferred them temporarily on the tutelary deity of their city, thus implicitly renouncing allegiance to Ur and its (deified) ruler. In the process, the hitherto subordinate titles expressing that allegiance inevitably began to assume the status of sovereign titles. The process is illustrated in the Early Old Babylonian period by the cases of *iššakku*<sup>59</sup> *šakkanakku*,<sup>60</sup> and *sukkalmahhu*.<sup>61</sup> In the case of the *šakkanakku* – title at Mari, there is indeed the possibility that it had expressed independent status already before the end of the Ur III period, although the exact date and status of some of its bearers is still in doubt.<sup>62</sup>

In the later course of the Old Babylonian period, however, one new royal title apparently entered Mesopotamia from abroad, namely *abu*, “father”. Its use by Kudur-mabug in connection with Emutbal can be traced to Elamite precedent under Šilhaha,<sup>63</sup> for the Emutbal in question surely lay somewhere between Elam and the kingdom of Larsa ruled by the sons of Kudur-mabug.<sup>64</sup> But he also called himself “father of the Amorite land (or mountain)” (*a d - d a k u r - m a r - t u*) and this suggests a possible western origin for the title. To quote Lambert once more: “Could not *adda* be an Amorite term in origin? I mean of course a rendering of the Amorite *Abu(m)*. Cf. Dossin, *Syria* 32, 27.”<sup>65</sup> This “Amorite *abu(m)*” is sometimes rendered by “sheikh” in modern translations,<sup>66</sup> thus implying an analogy to semi-nomadic or tribal leadership. Perhaps it continued to evoke such connotations in its brief Mesopotamian domicile.

Of the numerous royal *epithets* in vogue at one time or another in the long span of Mesopotamian history here reviewed, only one is a possible import from abroad, but it is a particularly significant one. “Effective (or faithful) shepherd” (*s i p a - z i*) is an epithet met with as part of a personal name already at pre-Sargonic Lagaš,<sup>67</sup> first conferred (in attributive position) on Gudea of Lagaš in the late Sargonic period, and not encountered again (in predicative position) until An-am of Uruk some three centuries later.<sup>68</sup> But Gudea may have been anticipated, if only by a few years, by Atal-šen of Urkiš and Nawar<sup>69</sup> who used an Akkadian epithet of approximately equivalent meaning, “experienced (?) shepherd (of the city?)” (*ri’um epšum* or *ri alim* [URU] *epšum*),<sup>70</sup> and who may have inspired also one of Ur-Nammu’s titular innovations (see above).

The epithet *s i p a - z i* was used predicatively again in royal hymns by

<sup>58</sup> ANEH 86 f. and n. 48 (with previous literature).

<sup>59</sup> EMRT p. 47.

<sup>60</sup> EMRT p. 105.

<sup>61</sup> EMRT pp. 118–20.

<sup>62</sup> Henri Limet, *Textes Administratifs de l’époque des šakkanakku* (= ARMT 19, 1976), 7–10.

<sup>63</sup> EMRT 108 f.; cf. M. Lambert, GLECS 9 (1962), 52 f.

<sup>64</sup> But Stol (JCS 30, 24 f.) regards it as denoting the territory around Larsa.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. above, note 52. The reference is to the “sheikhs of Hana” in the inscription of Yahdun-Lim of Mari.

<sup>66</sup> E.g. Edzard, *Die “zweite Zwischenzeit” Babylonien* (1957), 35 note 144; CAD A/1: 72 f.; Rowton Iraq 31:68 ff. Does it also apply to the summary of the second section of the Assyrian King List?

<sup>67</sup> Enannatuma-sipa-zi in CIRPL Enz. 1 and NFT 181:4156; see Sollberger and Kupper (op. cit. note 43), 75 f.

<sup>68</sup> EMRT 148.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., note 2; cf. above, note 43.

<sup>70</sup> So CAD and AHW s.vv. *epšu*, *re’u* (following Thureau-Dangin’s *editio princeps*).

Šulgi of Ur<sup>71</sup> and by Nur-Adad<sup>72</sup> and Sin-iqišam<sup>73</sup> of Larsa. But its original, attributive use was revived only by the last member of that dynasty, Rim-Sin. He employed it in the date formulas of his twenty-third to twenty-sixth years, substituting it for the simple "shepherd" ( s i p a ) title which he had introduced in the name of his twenty-second year, apparently in connection with his conquest of Uruk. He used it also in a hymn.<sup>74</sup> It is therefore of interest that the same epithet may be bestowed on him<sup>75</sup> in the letter addressed to him by Nin-šata-pada, daughter of Sin-kašid of Uruk and high-priestess of Durum, in which she appeals to Rim-Sin, in words again borrowed from the king's date formulas, to spare Durum as he had previously spared Uruk. This letter, whose reconstruction is made possible in large measure by the contribution of Oliver Gurney,<sup>76</sup> may then serve to round out this tribute to my host at Oxford (1971–72).

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<sup>71</sup> A. Falkenstein, SGL 1 (1959) 53 *ad* 1. 60.

<sup>72</sup> VS 17:41i21 = Van Dijk, JCS 19 (1965) 5:21.

<sup>73</sup> VS 17:38:44 = Sjöberg, *Or. Suec.* 22 (1973) 109:44; Dupret, *Or.* 43 (1974) 332:44.

<sup>74</sup> UET 6:101:19 and 38. Cf. H. Steible, *Rīm-Sîn, mein König* (1975), 48.

<sup>75</sup> Depending on the reading of line 3a as sipa-zi kalam-šár-ra túm-túm-mu-dè or sipa zi kalam-šár-ra túm-túm-mu-dè (OECT 5:25:61; cf. TRS 58:3).

<sup>76</sup> OECT 5:25 lines 59–112; for duplicates see for the present Hallo, Kramer AV (= AOAT 25, 1976) 211 f. and note 25. A full edition is in preparation.





## THE YEAR'S WORK

### THE COUNCIL

Membership of the Council remained unchanged throughout the year. The new Executive Committee met regularly between Council meetings and proved a valuable innovation.

### TILLE

#### *Introduction*

The village of Tille, now named Geldibuldu, is situated on the right bank of the Euphrates, at the western end of the modern bridge which takes the Adıyaman-Urfa/Diyarbakır road across the river. Tille village lies on the north side of the modern road at c. 30 km. east of Kahta and 60 km. east of Adıyaman. It is not large; the number of houses is small. The village is surrounded by gardens, particularly on the E, S and SW sides, there being several fountains in the village.

The village is a *muhtarlık*, although the present muhtar does not reside in Tille; he lives in a *mezraa* of the village, Karatilbe, one of 5 such dependent hamlets of Geldibuldu *muhtarlığı*: Kefiri, Açoğlu, Körseluk, Tilbe and Karatilbe, all forming part of the territory of Geldibuldu.

The ancient site, principally the *hüyük* or mound, lies on the N edge of the village, on the edge of a small ravine. There are tombs, of Hellenistic/Roman date, cut into the rock on the N side of this ravine, to the NW of the mound. The early occupation of the site, 4th–2nd millennium, appears to be confined to the mound whereas the later periods, Hellenistic (Commagenian Kingdom) and Roman are almost entirely to be found under the gardens and fields on the S side of the village.

During the construction of the road and the bridge over the Euphrates, a large area of the skirt or surrounds of the mound was dug out and destroyed by bulldozers of the Highways Department. Plentiful remains (of the Roman period) can be thus observed in the sections left by the bulldozers on the N and S side of the road.

#### *Bibliography*

The site has been visited by several scholars in the recent past. A plan was made by the Eski Kahta team under Professor F. K. Dörner. Since then, topographic and archaeological notes have been made by Özdoğan (1977) and Serdaroğlu (1977). A small group from the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara under David French carried out a reconnaissance in November and December, 1978.

A number of antiquities are reported from the site (Dörner 1963, 30 n. 8). The villagers mention a bronze statuette (c. 15 cm. high), perhaps of a god. It was sold in Diyarbakır in c. 1974.

The site at Tille is designated S 52/11 in Özdoğan (1977, 92) and S I in Serdaroğlu (1977), 111 “Değirmen Çay”).

Dörner, F. K. 1963 *Arsameia am Nymphaios* (Berlin).

Özdoğan, M. 1977 *Aşağı Fırat Havzası 1977 Yüzey Araştırmalar* (İstanbul)

Serdaroğlu, Ü. 1977 *Aşağı Fırat Havzasında Araştırmalar* (Ankara).

#### *Excavation*

Apart from a brief reconnaissance of the site and area of Tille in the autumn of 1978, the main work was carried out in the spring of 1979, with a brief extension into the autumn of the same year.

Basically we worked in 3 areas, of which one (on the river bank) was aban-

done when it became clear that no ancient remains were to be found in the area. The other two are located on the N and S sides of the Adıyaman—Urfa road, at points where walls were visible in section. An earth-remover was employed to remove both sterile and dump-earth left by the Highways Department.

On the N side of the road (Trenches 8241, 8341) only Roman structures were excavated. These represented successive additions or reconstructions of a major building which has now been lost as the result of TCK bulldozers. Below the Roman it is possible to observe Hellenistic remains (a coin of Antiochus was found in the rubble wall). As yet the Roman period structures cannot be interpreted but a number of features (ash, tiles, water-channels) suggest a bath-house. No coins were found; pottery was poor and rare. Tiles, on the other hand, were abundant and they form the bulk of our evidence, since a number of them were stamped. These impressions give the name of four Roman military units. One group is rare: VIIM (VII Milliaria?). One series is from Samsat: LEG XVI F·F· (Legio XVI Flavia firma). The third group is incomplete: [ . . . ] AC·AUG, perhaps [Al(a) Thr]ac(um) Aug(usta) or [Al(a) Syri]ac(a) Aug(usta). The final group is very common, 88% of all legible stamps (total 188): AL·FL·AG; this stamp may be restored as Al(a) Fl(avia) Ag(rippiana). The location, not previously known, of this unit, may now be confidently established at Tille (the ancient name of which is unknown), or in the region of Tille.

On the S side of the road (Trenches 8038 etc.) the remaining fragments of the (?) bath-building were discovered under 2 m. of earth (deposited by time and TCK bulldozers). A fine stretch of masonry and an internal coarse mosaic floor were found almost immediately. Later on, a floor of small rectangular tiles set in herring bone fashion was discovered on the W side of the main wall. All the rooms and areas were completely empty. The wash-soil began at floor level. Clearly the buildings were abandoned and never re-occupied; they were gradually covered over by 2–3 m. of soil eroded down from the slopes above and to the W.

Again, in this area as on the N of the road, stamped tiles were found. On these tiles the stamp of the Ala Flavia Agrippiana was again the commonest of the four known at Tille.

These stamp impressions form a most valuable body of evidence for Roman Frontier Studies.

Within the Tille Muhtarlığı, we visited sites and small structures (also observed in 1978) which represent watch-towers along the Roman frontier. There are at least three of these: two near Karatilbe and one S of Karatilbe. One of these we partially excavated in the autumn of 1979. The remains were very fragmentary but enough survived to allow a reconstruction of a tower, with right-angled corners and approximately square. Beneath this structure we found late Hellenistic/early Roman graves. There is, thus, an apparent *terminus* for the construction of the tower.

### *Summary*

The formation of a frontier system along the Euphrates may be confidently ascribed to the Flavians: whether or not the structures uncovered at Tille and Karatilbe may be dated to that period is unclear. We have no secure evidence. It is possible that the towers (including that at Karatilbe) are part of a later development on the frontier: perhaps in the fourth century.

### ANKARA

Unquestionably the excavation at Tille has been the activity to which our thoughts and energies have almost exclusively been devoted during the past year. The first results are promising and we may look forward to a long period of archaeological activity in and around Tille. Several periods are well represented on the site: there will be no lack of material to study and publish.

Tille could easily become the most extensive operation ever mounted by the Institute: we have had a glimpse, in 1979, of the archaeological potential of the site. Just as easily, however, the Tille dig could also become the most expensive operation that the Institute has undertaken. Rising prices in Turkey have absorbed a large part of our grant, augmented, though it was, by a devaluation of the Turkish lira.

Other activities have taken second place to the Tille excavation. There is less to report than in previous years. The world petroleum crisis has affected Turkey, as it has other countries. Nevertheless, the greater the attention given to excavation, the less becomes the time available for other work, particularly individual projects such as RECAM.

The year's work in Turkey has demonstrated — dare we say? once again — the desirability of a balanced programme of research, with funds and personnel suitable to the scale and nature of each project. In the course of the year, adequate funds have been made accessible to the Institute. Personnel — once a new Assistant Director can be appointed — are available. Research projects have been established and successfully carried forward. The library is being brought up to a level from which the Institute's activities can be serviced. Our task — brought into emphasis by the year's events — is to maintain the momentum, and the standard, of our current research.



## RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN TURKEY

### *ALACA HÖYÜK, 1979<sup>1</sup>*

The excavations at Alaca Höyük in 1979 were undertaken in the months of July and August. The season was in continuation of that of 1978. The same excavated areas were deepened and the Old Hittite levels were investigated.

In the excavations, which lasted 21 days, 40 museum objects were found, among them a number of seals and seal impressions.

The architectural remains that were found previously have been restored *in situ* in accordance with a long-standing programme. Thus measures have been taken to provide a solid protection against the elements for all architectural monuments, especially those of the Hittite period.

After 40 years of archaeological activity at Alaca Höyük it is still necessary to continue the excavations in view of the importance of new finds.

Touristic works, such as the cleaning up of the surrounds of Alaca Höyük and the construction of a new museum were begun. This work will be continued.

### *ANEMURIUM, 1979<sup>2</sup>*

A seven-week season was conducted from June to early August, 1979, under the direction of Professor James Russell with the kind permission of the General Directorate of Antiquities and Museums. The work is sponsored, as previously, by the University of British Columbia and financed by a research grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. The principal activities of the season were as follows:

#### *A. Cleaning and Conservation of Wall-Paintings in Tombs*

The principal operation of our seven-week season was to continue the cleaning and consolidation of wall-paintings in the Roman necropolis. In this project we have concentrated on four tombs (A III 5, A IV 7a, A VI 2 and B I 16) which contain some of the most interesting and most extensive surviving remains of painted wall plaster.<sup>3</sup> The restoration of the fabric of each tomb had been completed and excellent progress in cleaning the paintings in two (A VI 2 and B I 16) had been made in previous seasons (1974 and 1975).<sup>4</sup> In this second phase of the project, carried out by a team of three conservators led, as previously, by Mrs. Pamela French of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, small test patches of the animal decoration in Tomb A III 5 were cleaned and treatment of the painted surfaces of Tomb A VI 2 was satisfactorily completed. In neither tomb, however, has the latest work added anything new to what was previously known of the paintings.

As was the case in 1975, the results of the latest season were particularly impressive in the antechamber (B I 16a) of the complex Tomb B I 16 where the removal of deposits of calcareous salts and organic growths has revealed painted surfaces totally invisible before treatment. On the south wall further cleaning of

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<sup>1</sup> Translated from information kindly provided by Dr Mahmut Akok.

<sup>2</sup> Condensed from a report kindly contributed by Prof. James Russell.

<sup>3</sup> For details of the necropolis in general and these tombs in particular, see E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, *The Necropolis of Anemurium* (Ankara, 1971).

<sup>4</sup> For previous reports, see *AS* XXV (1975), pp. 16–17, XXVI (1976), pp. 22–23.

the figure of Hermes Psychopompos has yielded the caduceus that he carries in his left hand, while to his left the figure of a winged putto has now come to light. This second figure is identified by the dipinto ΠΟΘΟΣ above his head as Pothos (Desire), here taking the place of the more familiar Eros. Like Hermes, he is shown turning back with a gesture of encouragement to the deceased, represented as a personified Psyche who occupied the area to the left of Hermes where the plaster has broken off, and whose presence may be conjectured from the final two letters of a dipinto, XH, that identified her as Psyche.

The cleaning of the vault has also produced surprises in the form of two more personified Seasons. One, enclosed within a rectangular frame in the crown of the vault at the west end of the chamber, belongs to the same series as the figure of Summer (ΘΕΡΟΣ) previously visible on the north face of the vault. Like Summer, the new Season appears as a winged male genius. Although the dipinto that must have identified the Season is lost, we may reasonably suppose that he represents Autumn.

Adjacent to the rectangular panel in the south face of the vault a second wreath medallion came to light, balancing the well-preserved medallion on the north face containing the bearded bust of Winter. Despite the many gaps in its surface, the youthful bust, probably male, of a second Season is perfectly recognizable within the wreath. The figure is identified by a dipinto in the upper left as ΕΑΡ (Spring). With these new discoveries we may now reconstruct with some confidence the sequence of the two cycles of Seasons. In each corner we have the wreath medallions, each containing a season in the form of a bust, alternating with the rectangular panels enclosing the Seasons represented as winged genii. Both cycles pass in anti-clockwise formation in such a way that no Season ever appears twice on the same face of the vault. Although some plaster still remains to be cleaned, it is unlikely that much more remains to be discovered. The greatest disappointment lies at the centre of the vault, which was once occupied by a fifth wreath medallion, larger in circumference than the others, of which less than one quarter of the painted surface now survives. This appears to contain part of the shoulder and shaggy green beard of a frontal male bust, perhaps Earth or Annus, though further cleaning is required to confirm this.

New discoveries were not limited to the paintings of the vault. The clearance of surface debris in the same chamber revealed a mosaic pavement virtually intact at a depth of approximately 10 cm. and covering the entire floor surface of the room. The main part of this consists of a large central panel showing two vines springing from a cantharus, flanked by two identical panels, each containing a diamond with a four-leafed rosette at the centre on which is superimposed a quatrefoil. The whole is surrounded by a border consisting of stepped pyramids and a ribbon-wave pattern. Unfortunately a considerable portion of this panel has been much discoloured from calcination caused by shepherds' (?) fires on the mosaic surface at some later period. One further discovery worthy of mention was the remains of a narrow ledge running along the entire south wall of the same chamber. The presence of a lower portion of an amphora set into the mortar betrayed its use as a libation bench, similar to the much better preserved example in the adjacent chamber to the NW which we discovered in 1975. Although the latest finds have supplied no new archaeological evidence for the structural history of the complex, the style of the new paintings and mosaic does not contradict the third century date previously established for this room.

### B. *The Church of the Holy Apostles (II 16)*

In 1979 continuous excavation was limited to the seaside church (II 16), identified from an inscription discovered in 1976 as the church of the Holy Apostles.<sup>1</sup> Here a team of three workmen under Hector Williams' supervision cleared the entire area of the atrium at the west end of the church and exposed the doorway of a further building to the west entered by a semicircular step. The relationship of the atrium to the line of the city wall that was destroyed to make way for it is now very evident in the contrast between the raised level of the mosaic floor in the eastern half of the courtyard which overlies the foundation of the wall and the sunken level to the west where the mosaic has suffered subsidence. If the city-wall is that mentioned in the Matronianus inscription of c. 382, as seems highly probable, then we have a reasonably secure *terminus post quem* for the construction of the church. The date of construction may indeed be narrowed further by material from a sondage beneath the floor of the south corridor of the atrium which includes pottery and coins no later than the first quarter of the fifth century in date. Thus a date c. 425 seems likely. In its original form the atrium was probably surrounded by an arcaded colonnade on all four sides, though that on the south was subsequently blocked off by a continuous wall of reused material, an arrangement perhaps repeated on the north side. A double row of limestone slabs arranged somewhat irregularly runs around the periphery of the inner courtyard. Within lies a mosaic pavement, comprising a simple design of diamonds, alternately dark blue and white, enclosed within a border of inward facing stepped pyramids and a wave pattern. This original design seems to have suffered considerable damage, necessitating extensive and clumsy patching with large fragments of mosaic brought from elsewhere. Notable amongst these pieces is a polychrome circular guilloche frame containing another four-leafed rosette with petals curling inwards, a motif already encountered in Tomb B I 16, and clearly much favoured by the mosaicists of Anemurium.

Another interesting result of clearing the entire area was the discovery that the "heart-shaped frame" of the inscription mentioned in last year's report<sup>2</sup> was in fact the upper part or bowl of a large chalice whose base contained a further four lines of inscription. The text, including various formulae drawn from the liturgy, records the donation of another anonymous benefactor, similar to that discovered in 1978 in the south aisle of the Necropolis Church A II 1. The date, indicated only by the year of the indiction, is unfortunately of little value for precise dating in the absence of some other chronological point of reference.

### C. *Minor Investigations*

A sondage cut through the thick mortar floor of the hypocaust system in Room C of the Baths II 7A supplied important information that raises a serious question about the building's date and structural history. This was previously believed to consist of two major building phases, one in the early third century, and a second, which includes room C, in the early fifth century.<sup>3</sup> Much pottery was recovered, including even fragments adhering to the mortar aggregate, none datable later than the last quarter of the second century. This would indicate that the building was constructed as a single entity, perhaps no later than c. 200. A thorough review of the original arguments for the building's history, which

<sup>1</sup> See *AS* XXVII (1977), p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> See *AS* XXIX (1979), p. 185.

<sup>3</sup> G. Huber in *TAD* XVIII: 2 (1969), pp. 37–58.



were based primarily on structural considerations, is now essential to clarify this major contradiction. Another interesting discovery resulted from a survey of the meagre vestiges of buildings on the hillside at the south end of the city in the vicinity of the lower aqueduct. It is now clear that these represent the remains of a dense series of domestic apartments rising up the slope in a stepped arrangement which recalls that of the recently discovered *Hanghäuser* at Ephesus. Their convenience as a source of building material for the construction of the medieval citadel in the twelfth century probably accounts for their present sorry condition. Few plans can be recovered, but the recognition of their existence prompts a reconsideration of the ancient population of the city, which may have been larger than we have hitherto supposed.

#### D. *Study*

Much of the latest season was devoted to the study of material from previous seasons in preparation for publication. Caroline Williams, assisted by Wendy Marshall, completed the processing and on-site recording and drawing of pottery. All lamps and lamp-fragments from earlier years, excluding those belonging to the hoard discovered in 1968, were sorted by Hector Williams. The majority were specimens of local wheel-made and mould-made lamps, but a total of 175 imported pieces of special significance was recorded and photographed. The presence of both Syro-Palestinian and Asia Minor types in considerable numbers might suggest that Anemurium lies at the intersection of two spheres of trade. The study of the glass has been undertaken by Marianne Stern of the University of Leiden, who estimates a total of 4,000–4,500 identifiable rims and bases. Given the backward state of our knowledge of ancient glass in Asia Minor, the documentation of this material with its wide variety of shapes should provide a valuable typological basis for the future study of glass in this region. All glass and lamps have now been transferred to the Museum in Alanya to facilitate further study. An analysis of the skeletal material from the 14 excavated graves of the Necropolis Church was carried out by Marshall Becker, who reports a total of 29 persons, including 18 children below the age of 8. Unfortunately not all the graves are contemporary, so that the total cannot be considered as a coherent population. Nevertheless much useful information concerning sex, age at death, diet and disease has been assembled. James Russell spent a week in the Alanya Museum treating uncleaned coins from the 1970–72 seasons and was able to add 230 new identifications to those previously recorded. Casts of a further 80 (mostly Mediaeval and Seljuk) are currently awaiting identification at the American Numismatic Society.

#### E. *Plans for the Future*

Now that excavation has ceased, the main activity will consist in analysing the results of more than a decade of excavation and preparing reports for publication. For this purpose a three-day workshop was held at the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto, in March 1979, at which all the participants in the excavation, as well as some outside experts, assembled for a comprehensive review of the site's archaeology and its problems. On the site itself important work remains to be done. A further season of conservation of wall-paintings in the Necropolis tombs is envisaged, perhaps taking the form of a training school for Canadian and Turkish students of conservation. A major outstanding problem concerns the fate of the numerous mosaic floors exposed in the course of the campaign. At present these have been temporarily consolidated and remain reasonably secure beneath a thick covering of sand or gravel. Eventually,

however, it will be necessary to lift the most important and fragile examples and either remove them to a museum or preserve them *in situ* in a new mortar bedding and protected by some form of shelter. Consultations are currently in progress to decide the best course of action.

### *APHRODISIAS, 1979<sup>1</sup>*

The big event of the year was the inauguration of the Aphrodisias Museum on 21st July, 1979, in the presence of the Honourable Münir Güney, Governor of the Province of Aydın. We owe him a sincere debt of gratitude.

In order to transfer formally the expedition's collections to the Directorate of the Museum a careful review of all small finds, coins and objects recorded in eighteen years of excavation had to be undertaken. This was accomplished by early November. But the inadequate storage facilities of the building cannot permit the completion of the task until new depots are built and much material must remain for the present in the storeroom of the excavation headquarters.

Members of our team were fully occupied for most of the year with this work and with preparations for publication.

### *New Discoveries*

The notion of Aphrodisias as a complete archaeological unit including a Museum and an extensive site within and beyond the perimeter of its ancient fortifications had been duly sanctioned in 1976 by the High Commission for Monuments. Concomitantly, the transfer of the old village of Geyre, already begun in the 1950s, and the expropriation of the remaining inhabited houses were then accelerated. Unusual discoveries made fortuitously during the dismantling of these houses proved that much of the core of the ancient city lies buried under the remains of Geyre. Two house sites particularly attracted our attention and, joining forces with the Museum, two soundings were initiated.

One of these sondages to the north-east of the Tetrapylon had yielded new fragments of the Zoilos frieze in 1977. Work here produced a room featuring a well-preserved floor mosaic in decorative geometric style of Early Byzantine date. Only one fragment probably connected with the Zoilos monument was recovered.

Investigation of the second area, to the north-east of the Agora, was spurred by the discovery of relief fragments. The outcome of the small sondage was so thought-provoking that it was extended and the excavations brought to light part of a significant building complex and scores of extraordinary large reliefs that once decorated it. Seven evenly sized rooms with an elaborate façade and doors opening on to a well-paved street or court were uncovered. Their façade resembled a *scaenae frons* or *proskēnion*, consisting of at least two stories of half columns, with relief panels inserted in the intercolumniations. The columns were still *in situ* and stood erect to a height of over 3 m. The most spectacular architectural decoration of the complex was an extraordinary series of large relief panels, often in excellent condition. The subject matter included: (1) a rather roughly carved frontal Roma with a kneeling, bound captive by her right foot; (2) two nude youthful male figures, whose identification with Lucius and Gaius Caesar, Augustus's grandsons, is tempting; (3) a group of three figures, including Augustus, in heroic nudity, setting up a trophy, at the base of which a crying

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<sup>1</sup> Condensed from a report kindly supplied by Prof. Kenan Erım.

female captive is crouching, while a toga-clad young man (probably the Senate) crowns the emperor with the *corona civica*; (4) a pendant group featuring an Amazon-Virtus type Roma crowning a woman, perhaps the empress Livia; (5) a female figure sweeping towards the right and setting up another trophy; (6) a nude *velificans* male figure holding a cornucopia and a rudder and flanked by two kneeling figures symbolizing the Earth and the Sea; (7) a frontal nude man holding an orb who could be the emperor Tiberius; (8) another nude Julio-Claudian prince or emperor (Claudius?) extending an ear of corn to a nude man to the right; and (10–12) three separate panels decorated with Nike figures.

Another group, with a meander-decorated base, seemed to have essentially mythological themes. Four complete panels were recovered, including a Leda and swan composition, a woman with a baby in her lap (probably Dionysus) approached by a Satyr offering a cluster of grapes; a crowned young athlete holding a palm; and a female figure seated on a chest with a nude male figure leaning towards her in a familiar, yet unclear, posture. There was also a vast number of fragments.

Only a significant structure can lay claim to such rich and elaborate decoration. The Julio-Claudian character of some of the reliefs points to an early Imperial date. On the other hand a monument of later date honouring the first imperial dynasty is not to be ruled out. Generally speaking, however, an identification of the complex with a Sebasteion or Kaisareion is not without merit.

#### *Other Activities*

A balloon photographic recording of Aphrodisias was initiated in September 1977 and careful analysis of these results indicated that a few more area shots, as well as the coverage of additional zones, were needed. Prof. Cevat Erder was fortunately able to set apart a few days in September for this. Preliminary examination of the results has revealed interesting traces of still buried structures at several strategic locations.

#### *BITHYNIA, 1979<sup>1</sup>*

District: The area which lies inside the curve of the middle Sakarya.

Director of the research: Dr Sencer Sahin (from Köln University).

Members of the team: Necati Ayas, Representative of the Cultural Ministry, Ender Varınlıoğlu (from Ankara University).

Epigraphical research was carried out in the area mentioned above in 1979. The honorary and votive inscriptions which were found shed light on the educational and social life of the region in ancient times. The cities on the route of the ancient Roman military and commercial road between Nikaia and Ancyra were fixed by the help of the mile-stones.

The final results of this research are to be published in 1980, under the title of "Katalog der antiken Inschriften des Museums von Iznik (Nikaia), Teil II" (in two languages: German and Turkish).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Information kindly provided by Dr Sencer Sahin.

<sup>2</sup> The first volume of this catalogue was published in 1979, under the title of "Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien. Bonn 1979".

*CAFER HÖYÜK (MALATYA), 1979<sup>1</sup>*

Research Unit No. 17 of the Centre de Recherches Archéologique (CNRS) undertook, in October 1979, a first sounding on the site of Cafer Höyük in the region of Malatya. The site was discovered in 1977 by a team of prehistorians of the Universities of Istanbul and Ankara in the course of a preliminary exploration of the zone threatened by the barrage of Karakaya on the Euphrates. It is about 40 km. north-east of Malatya at the junction of a seasonal stream, the Değirmen Deresi, with the Euphrates. There is an oblong mound, running east-west, measuring 150 x 28 m. at its mid point. The eastern end slopes down gradually to the bed of the Değirmen dere; the northern, western and southern slopes, however, are more abrupt and cut away at their base by irrigation canals serving plantations of fruit trees. Just below these rows of trees, on three sides of the tell, are cultivated fields, which themselves lie at a higher level than the surrounding countryside. These fields, which the prospectors of 1977 called "north terrace", "west terrace" and "south terrace", provided them with most of their lithic and ceramic material, more than was recovered from the mound itself.

It seemed clear at first sight that the central eminence, with its strangely oblong shape, narrowing in the middle, could only be the remains of a much larger mound, a great part of which had been levelled for agricultural purposes. It might also turn out that the actual earth from the tell, spread around on the surrounding fields, was partly responsible for the abundant traces of human industry which had been recovered. It seemed in other words that there had been a "correction of level", transforming into flat cultivable surfaces what had originally been a larger mound sloping regularly from its summit to its periphery.

With this in mind, we decided to devote our first campaign not only to stratigraphic soundings on the actual tell, but also to an attempt to plot the true extension of the original mound by means of multiple small soundings in its vicinity. However, the work was considerably limited by the difficulty of finding local labour and the reluctance of the owners of the fields to grant us permission. Apart from two soundings on the tell itself (soundings 1 and 2), we were only able to undertake two others on the immediately contiguous "terraces", i.e. sounding 3 on the north terrace and sounding 4 on the west terrace.

## THE MOUND

*Sounding 1*

Apart from the irrigation canal already mentioned, which cut into the base, the northern flank of the tell had been deeply gashed, almost from top to bottom, by a "quarry", some 10 m. long, recently dug by the villagers to obtain earth for bricks. The front of this quarry was cleaned up and served as a starting point for a small sounding, of 2 sq. m., in which seven levels (A-G) were distinguished. Level B (0.4-0.9 m.) produced some well-fired sherds with a metallic ring and some of a coarser type, and a few small fragments of obsidian, level C (0.9-1.4 m.) only a few sherds but some fragments of obsidian which included 2 blades and part of an arrowhead. Levels D-E (1.4-2 m.) struck into the thickness of a wall consisting of two beds of stones separated by a layer of mortar containing straw and resting on gravel. No sherds were found in this level, but the lithic material was more plentiful. It included a retouched tool, perhaps a side-scraper,

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<sup>1</sup>Translated and condensed from a report kindly contributed by Jacques Chauvin and Olivier Aurenche.

an end-scaper on a flake, and a number of blades, all in grey, green or brownish obsidian, translucent at the edges. This level also produced some animal bones. Levels F and G likewise produced a number of obsidian tools, including three sickle-blades. The sounding halted at 2.95 m. from the surface without reaching virgin soil.

It thus appears that levels A to C contain pottery of a historical period, while the prehistoric levels commence with level D. The wall encountered in D–E is evidence of an impressive architecture in stone. Obsidian is the only material represented in the lithic industry.

### *Sounding 2*

The second sounding, of 4 sq. m., was sunk in the eastern part of the tell, where a second clay-pit for bricks cut into it, perpendicular to its long axis. Unlike sounding 1, this one was intended to explore not the upper layers but those lower down. Advantage was therefore taken of the recent cutting by digging at the foot of it. From 0 to 0.5 m. the earth was brown and cindery and contained a few animal bones, flakes and a blade of flint. Against the northern edge of the sounding a mass of boulders with a saddle quern and another fragment of a quern doubtless indicates the base of a wall.

At 0.5 m. a more or less circular sunk hearth was encountered, basin-like in section, 0.2 m. deep and filled with charcoal, stones split by fire, and bones. Large fragments of charcoal carpeted the base of the cavity; stones, 20–30 cm. in diameter, were placed round the edge against the reddened wall, others covered the whole surface above the charcoal; they seem to have been originally placed upon the embers. The bones (of large ruminants), many reddened by fire, lay similarly on the surface of the hearth, which may therefore have served for the cooking of meat, like certain hollows containing pebbles at Mureybet III. This sunk hearth may have been dug by the very first occupants of the site.

Underneath, the sterile substratum is formed by a light-brown mud with gravel and seams of sand. Unlike sounding 1, sounding 2 revealed essentially a flint industry, though small in quantity: a prismatic core for blades, one blade and three flakes. Obsidian was represented by only one blade.

## OUTSIDE THE TELL

### *Sounding 3*

Sounding 3, 4 sq. m. in extent, was sunk on the southern border of a cultivated field on the “north terrace”, that is to say, very close to the tell in its present form, 15 m. north of sounding 1.

After the removal of a surface layer (A), two levels (B and C), probably of the Early Bronze Age, were encountered, down to 0.6–0.8 m., taking account of the slope from south to north. Abundant pottery, mostly well burnished, black and red, came from level B. Level C produced some sherds of a coarser ware, dark red inside, black outside, lightly smoothed with a vegetable stamp (?). A piece of stone wall in the north-east corner of the sounding confirms that this is an installation *in situ*. Several flakes of obsidian are present in both levels, and in B an end-scaper on a flake, doubtless displaced from lower levels.

From 0.8 to 1.7 m. several neolithic levels follow without any pottery. Level D contained bones and hearths. The lithic material comprised a large quern of green stone (level C 2) and some obsidian tools: a fragmentary sickle, with two similar fragments, a small scaper with notches on opposite sides, various retouched blades either flat or abrupt or with shoulders, a small side-scaper and a score of flakes. Other finds were a sickle-blade and an end-scaper on a blade, in flint.

The sounding stopped at a depth of 2.6 m. at a level E with many carbonised particles but otherwise sterile. The trench established that both the Bronze Age and the Neolithic occupation extended beyond the actual surface of the höyük. The "north terrace" evidently forms part of the original tell, as far as a point in the north yet to be determined.

#### *Sounding 4*

This sounding, of 4 sq. m., was sunk on the "west terrace", at the border of a cultivated field, quite near the main mound, on the western extension of its axis. The arable soil of the surface yielded a few sherds and fragments of obsidian, but from a depth of 0.3 m. there appeared a layer of earth with carbonised particles like level E of sounding 3, and then from 0.4 m. the light brown mud which is the natural substratum of the site.

It thus appears that, unlike the "north terrace", the "west terrace" is entirely natural. The abundant finds made by the first prospectors of the site must have come from the spreading of earth resulting from the levelling of the primitive mound.

#### *Conclusion*

Certain conclusions can be drawn from the 1979 campaign about the occupation of Cafer Höyük.

It is correct that the prehistoric occupation stretched beyond the limits of the present mount, as seen by the first prospectors. However, although this extension is proved on the north by sounding 3, without the exact limits of the site being established, it has not been confirmed for the western terrace (sounding 4), in spite of the abundant harvest of lithic implements gathered on the surface. The situation on the south, also rich in surface finds, could not be investigated on account of the failure to obtain digging permission.

The upper levels of the central eminence are attributable to the historic period. The small number of sherds, of a nondescript character, does not for the present allow any greater precision. The bottom, from at least 1.5 m., is neolithic.

An occupation, probably of the Early Bronze Age, stretches out on to the northern terrace, where it covers an aceramic neolithic settlement (sounding 3). It is remarkable that neither in this sounding nor in sounding 1 on the tell itself has any intermediate occupation been observed, either of the Chalcolithic or of the ceramic neolithic. The black burnished sherds of level B in sounding 3, which at first sight resembled dark-faced burnished ware, seemed rather from their shape to belong to the Early Bronze Age.

The presence at Cafer Höyük of large walls founded on a bed of pebbles is the principal result confirmed by the soundings. There is evidence of grinding (millstones) and of tools formed mainly of obsidian, with a small proportion of flint. The tool most frequently encountered is that which we interpret provisionally as a kind of sickle; morphologically this tool appears as a thick blade with abrupt bilateral retouch, more or less denticular. There are traces of use consisting of dull areas along both edges, with fine longitudinal striations suggesting a cutting action. These are associated with end-scrapers and side-scrapers in the soundings, and if one can trust the surface finds, with arrowheads both of obsidian and of flint and polished axes of green stone.

This ensemble presents certain analogies with that of Çayönü. One may therefore provisionally attribute the neolithic of Cafer Höyük to the seventh millennium B.C.

*ÇAYÖNÜ, 1979<sup>1</sup>*

Work at Çayönü was resumed in the autumn of 1979 by the Joint Istanbul and Chicago Universities' Prehistoric Project with the cooperation of the Institut für Baugeschichte of the Technical University of Karlsruhe. The major effort was on the analysis of already excavated materials and excavation aimed at greater architectural clearance on the site. Coupled with the evidence acquired during the 1978 campaign, it is now clear that at least four domestic plan types can be demonstrated in stratigraphic succession. The earliest of these, an ovoid plan type, only appeared in 1978. Another plan type (certainly monumental for its time), for buildings of some special (non-domestic) function, began early in the site's occupation and persisted for some time. One further plan type, so far unique, and various basal pits also are to be accounted for. There is now an impressive sequence of radiocarbon age determinations from the Groningen counter, fixing the range of the middle two domestic plan types to *c.* 7250–6750 B.C. (Libby, uncalibrated), but the beginning and ending of the site's major prehistoric phase is not yet fixed.

Members of the team also investigated a group of late antique rock-cut tombs with reliefs and Semitic inscriptions, and also recorded some outstanding traditional village houses on the rocky ridge of Hilar by the Çayönü site.

*DEMIRCIHÜYÜK, 1979<sup>2</sup>*

In 1979 the remaining finds were photographed for which there had not been sufficient time in 1978. Other work outstanding from previous years was completed. Further, the work of restoration was finished, and the permanent exhibition of the excavated objects in the Museum at Eskişehir was set up, with over 500 exhibits. Specialised researches were conducted on the material and documentation of the excavation and continued into the new year. The themes and authors for the forthcoming publication series of the German Archaeological Institute were decided.

*DEREAĞZI: THE FIFTH SEASON, 1979<sup>3</sup>*

Work this season centred on the Lycian-Byzantine fort. The plan was corrected, and study of the walls and existing structures was continued. The Lycian sculpture discovered in 1974 was re-examined, photographed, and drawn, a new fragment, maybe from the same series, was found and recorded, and some Byzantine church furniture was discovered.

Ten Lycian rock tombs and two sarcophagi in and near the fort were studied and recorded under the direction of Prof. Robert A. Bridges, Jr.

Investigation of the settlement beneath the fort was initiated also. Several structures, including a basilica, and several walls, mostly Byzantine in date, were noted, and a large profile-block and some architectural furniture and sculpture were discovered.

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<sup>1</sup> Information kindly provided by Prof. Dr Halet Çambel.

<sup>2</sup> Information kindly contributed by Dr Manfred Korfmann.

<sup>3</sup> Information kindly provided by Prof. James Morganstern.

Checking continued at the Byzantine church, and in the course of work several new pieces of architectural sculpture and furniture were found.

Additional sherds were collected from all areas of the site, and a large hoard of coins assembled by villagers from Dereağzı and a nearby site was presented to the survey team.

### *EPHESOS, 1979<sup>1</sup>*

The main operations of the season were at the Artemision, in House 2 on the slope, at the so-called Acropolis, and at the Magnesian Gate.

In the Artemision, the great rectangular building, oriented north and south, which A. Bammer hitherto called "the marl foundations", was investigated. He interprets the building, which is about 100 Ionic feet in length, as a temple, to be dated before the building of Croesus. Whether it really is a temple will only be known after further excavation. This building in any case interrupted communications between the temple and the altar; or perhaps there may have been no cultural link between the oldest altar and the pre-Croesian temple. Among the small finds is a further head of a griffin like that found in 1973.

In House 2 on the slope, house-unit IV, which lies north of House IV, was further uncovered. Next to the open courtyard H<sub>2</sub>/31, which was exposed the previous year, was a two-storied peristyle court measuring 15 x 16 m. The collapsed condition of the columns and of the gates built into the side approaches as well as the well-house on the south side again show clearly that the houses on the slope were destroyed by a violent earthquake at the beginning of the seventh century A.D. and then artificially buried. This is proved by the blocked doors and windows in every dwelling.

The two-storied peristyle court had four columns on each side. On the south side a fountain basin had been secondarily built in between them. On the cornice a dedicatory inscription is carved in the middle, saying that Dionysus Oreios, Bakchios, and Propoleos is represented and that C. Flavius Furius Aptus is his priest. Aptus belongs to the circle of the leading citizens of Ephesos and another inscription reveals that he conducted the Ephesian Olympiad as *alytarchos*.

In the past year a start was made with the conservation of House 2 on the slope, which is of special importance on account of its rich wall paintings and mosaics. The raising of the mosaics of the Stoa of the Alytarchs was continued.

After the anastylosis of the library of Celsus we began in 1979 to record the existing blocks of the Gate of Mazaeus and Mithridates. At the same time the foundations of the building were investigated. At the lowest levels Geometric and Sub-Geometric sherds were found. If enough still remains we will restore this gate as well.

On the so-called Acropolis the oldest layers in the area studied had everywhere except at one spot slipped down the slope. At the northern shoulder a few finds of the Archaic period (sherds and a miniature terracotta head), elsewhere only traces of Late Antique houses, were found. To judge from present results, the settlement lasted into the fifth century A.D.

The excavations at the Magnesian Gate cleared this structure of all post-

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<sup>1</sup> Translated from information kindly supplied by Prof. Dr H. Vetters.



Antique intrusions. The complete exposure of the west side will be undertaken in 1980.

In conjunction, a number of other studies were completed, such as the clearance of the Byzantine well-house and its recording. South of the Arkadiane the west-oriented early Christian church and the mosaics of the Atrium Thermanum Constantianarum of the Harbour Gymnasium were investigated. At the Lower Agora, soundings on the west side revealed a pre-Hellenic settlement, so that the assumption that the Lower Agora had been constructed on unbuilt land must be abandoned.

The recording and publication of the inscriptions was successfully prosecuted. Three volumes of the repertory have already been handed over. Also Vol. VI of *Forschungen in Ephesos*, which is devoted to the funerary monument of Belevi, has at last appeared.

#### CHURCH OF ST. JOHN<sup>1</sup>

The excavations and restoration at the Church of St. John, which is part of the project "Selçuk-Ephesos area, planning, excavation and restoration", were started on 11th June, 1979, and ended on 23rd December, 1979.

##### *Excavations*

1. *Excavation of the east city wall:* With the beginning of the first season a large quantity of old spoil and rubble was removed and eighth century city walls which are at the east side of the church were identified. Also seven of the towers which had not been seen before and the entrance to the Ayasoluk Hill from the east have been recovered. Four of the towers are rectangular and the insides empty, the other three are triangular and filled in as bastions. In the building of the city walls a large amount of compact material was used. A high relief head fragment from one of the sculptured columns (*columnae caelatae*) of the Artemision, a statue of Nike and a colossal foot are the most important of the material brought from the Artemision and Ephesos.

2. *Excavation of the west city wall.* 60 m. of the city wall to the north of the west entrance of the Ayasoluk Hill have been completely recovered. Also at this point a rectangular tower has been found which had not been identified until now.

3. *Excavations at the north of the Atrium.* After the interior gate of the west city wall entrance had been found, as the work advanced eastwards, six of the niches bordering the north side of the Atrium and an Ottoman settlement were located. Inside the shops or rectangular-shaped buildings which lie on both sides of the east-west road some large and small pots and a cistern have been found. In this part of the site some rather important finds were recorded. The most important are the Ottoman coins of the time of Murat II (1421–1451). The so-called Ayasoluk treasure which was found in 'M' building consists of 1712 Murat II coins, 10 silver European coins, 16 golden European coins and one silver ring. Apart from these, a marble head of a woman, a fragment of a head of Hadrian, and a golden ear-ring were also found to the north of the Atrium.

##### *Restoration*

1. The restoration of the city wall south of the Atrium and the round

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<sup>1</sup> Translated from information kindly supplied by Mustafa Büyükkolancı.

tower south-west of the Atrium. Conforming to the policy adopted by the Commission of Monuments, by using artificial blocks the height of the city wall was raised to 2.70 m. and the tower to 1.60 m.

2. Restoration of the niches to the north of the Atrium. Restoration of the niches was carried out parallel to the excavation in this area. The bases of the six niches and the arches were restored to match the originals.

### *ESKIŞEHİR, 1979<sup>1</sup>*

Epigraphical researches were continued in the villages south, east and west of Eskişehir. About 50 inscriptions were collected, mostly short dedications and epitaphs. Three boundary-stones may prove to be of some importance as to the territorial history of the region.

### *GORDION, 1979<sup>2</sup>*

The 1979 work at Gordion consisted of a study season and some minor consolidation on the main citadel mound.

Ann Gunter began a study of the Bronze Age pottery, which although coming from limited soundings is important for comprising a full stratified sequence from late in the Early Bronze Age through Late Bronze. She notes that the material is very close to that of Boğazköy and shows few ties to Western Anatolia; in the latter respect it is strikingly different from the pottery of the first millennium B.C.

From context lots of levels succeeding the Bronze Age (or at least the standard phases of it) G. Kenneth Sams, in consultation with Frederick Winter, identified and inventoried additional examples of pottery related to the "Hand-made Burnished Ware" of the Aegean LH IIIC period and of Troy VIIb. The presence of the pottery at Gordion was previously mentioned by Machteld J. Mellink in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 17 (1960) 251. The related Aegean ware has lately been much discussed as a possible indication of Northern intrusion. At Gordion, of course, the question arises of whether the pottery might not mark the beginnings of Phrygian occupation.

Prof. Sams also examined the pottery from the Küçük Hüyük, the subsidiary fortress to the east of the main citadel. He found that Lydian sherds were associated with the construction of the high platform of the most monumental period of the fortress, a possible indication that this phase did not begin before the advanced seventh century B.C.

In the main citadel, parts of two walls that scarp erosion had exposed were identified as belonging to a previously unknown building of the level of overall reconstruction that came in probably the first half of the sixth century B.C. (the so-called Persian or archaic level). The new walls were drawn and the building added to the period plan.

Irene Bald Romano started her study of the 142 terracotta figurines from the site. About a quarter are from the Galatian desertion level of 189 B.C., and being ambitious, highly sculptural pieces they should be helpful in providing a

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<sup>1</sup> Information kindly provided by Prof. Dr Peter Frei.

<sup>2</sup> Information kindly provided by Prof. Keith de Vries.

fixed point for the problematic chronology of Hellenistic sculpture. A number of the pieces are busts, and Mrs Romano has found that they served as the bases of thymiateria of a type that has until now been known almost entirely from South Italy. Among the thymiaterion busts is the famous terracotta representing Midas.

#### *HASSEK HÜYÜK, 1978–9<sup>1</sup>*

In the autumn of 1978 the German Archaeological Institute in collaboration with the Institute for Near Eastern Archaeology of the University of Munich inaugurated the investigation of Hassek Hüyük. The operations are directed by B. Hrouda, of Munich, with M. R. Behm-Blancke, of the German Archaeological Institute, Istanbul, as field director, and are taking place within the framework of the international rescue programme mounted by the METU Turkish Lower Euphrates Project in the area of the future Karababa dam.

Hassek Hüyük (S52/18 in Özdoğan, survey 1977) is a flat mound about 9 m. in height with an area of about 140 × 110 m., and lies on the slip-off slope beside a sharp loop of the Euphrates, half way between the villages Asağı Tillakin and Yukarı Tillakin, about 1.5 km. north of the highway Adıyaman-Kâhta-Siverek where it crosses the Euphrates.

During the short campaign from 25th September to 10th October the site was photographed and surveyed and a limited test-sounding was made in order to clarify soil conditions, depth of settlement and any disturbances caused by agriculture. In order to obtain information about the extent and nature of the settlement, a magnetic survey was carried out by H. Becker of Munich, whereby an area of nearly 8000 sq. m. was plotted in points at intervals of 1 m. This magnetic survey served in the spring of 1979 as a starting point for the choice of the areas to be excavated on the plateau of the mound and on the north-east slope.

On the plateau digging was carried down to virgin soil in order to obtain a complete picture of the stratification. Three mutually independent building levels were established: (1) the latest level, partly disturbed by cultivation, to be assigned to the beginning of LBA II on account of the appearance of the so-called “cymaprofiled cup”, a typical form for Phase H in the Amuq Plain; (2) the middle level, marked by mud-brick architecture with foundations of river pebbles and small square rooms, frequently rebuilt, and belonging to the beginning of the EBA; a wide range of “reserved slip” and “plain simple ware” offers a good comparison here with Amuq Phase G; (3) the oldest level, to which belongs an architecturally interesting structure, only a small part of which was uncovered and which rests on virgin soil. This is a rather large building, distinguished by having a room sunk 2 m. below the normal floor level (3.5 by more than 8 m.). Upon the rubble foundations, which are 1.2 m. deep and 2 m. wide, the mud-brick walls stand in places to a height of 2 m. The dating of this building is assured by a small group of “bevelled-rim bowls” which were placed at the edge of the foundations in the foundation-trench. Ashes and the remains of charcoal among the inverted vessels, as well as the complete skeleton of a pig about three months old found nearby under a big foundation stone, suggest a foundation sacrifice. The precise determination of the position and function of

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<sup>1</sup> Translated from a report kindly provided by Dr M. R. Behm-Blancke.

this room within the building, which can be assigned to the Late Chalcolithic, will be one of the most urgent tasks of the next campaign.

Clay pegs, which had already been picked up during a surface survey, may indicate the presence of sacral (or administrative) architecture, but none have yet been found *in situ*. More than 150 of these pegs, with hollowed out, circular heads, came to light as stray finds at all levels.

Small finds, showing the strong cultural links in the Early Bronze Age I between the inhabitants of the Euphrates valley south of the Taurus and the North-Syrian-Mesopotamian area, appeared more especially in the middle building level: terracotta cylinder seals with simple, decorative "all-over" patterns; a well-preserved seal-rolling on a terracotta plaque showing a human figure holding on the left a plough and on the right a draught-animal; and seal-rollings on a number of sherds of reserved-slip ware. These impressions on vessels in particular attest the community with the North Mesopotamian culture-zone, for they show that the typically North-Syrian-Palestinian habit of sealing pots had penetrated to the foothills of the Taurus. Mention should also be made of a small group of finds made in the youngest level, containing among several "cyma-profiled cups" some well-preserved metal objects: a bronze knife with whetstone, a flat bronze axe, a large bronze pin, and a bronze chisel.

After these two first campaigns it can be said in short that the settlement on Hassek Hüyük was of considerable extent and lasted, to the best of our present knowledge, from the Late Chalcolithic down to Early Bronze Age II. The hitherto attested ceramic types show connexions with the early urban culture of Mesopotamia and that of North Syria which was already known to extend into the area of the upper Euphrates. At Hassek Hüyük, which remained uninhabited after EBA II, we have the opportunity to uncover over a wide area the remains of a large rural community in the Euphrates valley south of the Taurus and to elucidate the layout of the settlement — architecture and street plan — in its entirety.

### *HERACLEIA UNDER LATMOS, 1979<sup>1</sup>*

The work at Heracleia under Latmos and in the vicinity was this year finally concluded. At Heracleia the plans were finally checked and it was found that the wide area south of the shrine of Endymion was resettled in early Christian times. Here lie the foundations of a basilica, which is a significant witness for the early Christian occupation of the site of the classical city.

Outside Heracleia traces of settlement were found at several spots on the shores of the lake, among them on the south shore two complexes of Roman date, evidently small *Thermae*. Investigations on the north shore brought new information about the Byzantine topography of the area. Beside the fortified site of Süsbük photographed in the previous year there is a second, named Sobran Kalesi. Both turned out, contrary to previous conjecture, to be fortified monasteries, with a church inside, a tower and a surrounding wall. A further fortified monastery is the rather large complex now called Kiliselik. Its church was at least once rebuilt. All three monasteries belong to the late Byzantine period.

Apart from these isolated fortified places the territory on the north shore was uninhabited. The only buildings that were detected there and recorded are

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<sup>1</sup> Translated from information kindly provided by Dr Anneliese Peschlow.

modest tomb chambers, graves, two chapels and a third building of unknown purpose, certainly the necropolis of the small Byzantine township situated on the island of Menet Ada which lies immediately opposite.

The plans made the previous year of the quarries of Heracleia and Miletus were checked and completed. The Milesian quarry area extends somewhat further to the west than had hitherto been assumed; it occupies more than half of the south shore.

In order to place and classify the two "Lelegian" ring-ramparts discovered the previous year certain places in neighbouring Caria, which is rich in such features, were visited. Two ramparts of the same type as ours are those mentioned by G. E. Bean near Chalcetor, though the third one mentioned by him is the city wall of Chalcetor itself, which is presumably in a different category.

On Göbek Dağ near Chalcetor stands a small, hitherto quite unknown, fort. Its walls are constructed in the typical slab technique of Lelegian ramparts, but in plan, distribution of towers and situation of the entrance it is in a different category. This is most probably a Hellenistic fort. The two known citadels of Pidasa can also only with reservations be counted among the Lelegian fortifications. Their external walls resemble Lelegian ramparts, but the forts themselves differ in various respects, the lower citadel even in its masonry. Both are probably Hellenistic.

One of the two ramparts by Lake Bafa can best be interpreted as a refuge, in spite of the absence of any traces of settlement nearby. The second, on Latmos, is probably an observation post of the ancient city of Latmos on account of its isolated position.

#### *HORISKALE, 1979<sup>1</sup>*

Excavations which had been started last year as a unit of the METU's Keban and Lower Euphrates projects have been carried on this year in August and September.

Last year during the excavations in area P-9 — which was called area A before the topographical work was done — in three trenches a large building had been found. This year the excavation of this building has continued, 11 more trenches being opened.

This building has been built adjacent to the south rampart of the citadel and conforming to the slope it rises up to the west. The outside faces of the walls, which were approximately 2.20 m. in thickness, had been built of rectangular limestone blocks and the inside of pebbles. Lime mortar was used as fixing material. Entrance to the building was made by a 2.15 m. high gate which is at the east. Between the east room and the second room, there is a 1.35 m. wide gate which is on the same alignment as the one in the east. The second room has its entrance from the north. Part of a third room has been excavated to the west and another gate to the north established. Except the main gate, at all the other gates there were recesses made to fit the door sockets. Most of the coins and the glazed and painted potsherds that were found in it are dated to the Selçuk Period.

Last year another trench has been excavated on the more northerly of the twin tumulus-like hills which lie south-west of the citadel. The mixture of large

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<sup>1</sup> Translated from a report kindly contributed by Dr Seyhan Doruk.

and small pebbles with the lime mortar made it very difficult to dig here. At the end of this season it had reached a depth of 5.0 m. but still no finds have been made.

It has not been possible to make deeper sondages in the surrounding fields as they are owned by the villagers. However some trial pits on the north and west sides of the citadel were opened and sherds contemporary with the building in the citadel came to light, giving the impression of a weak settlement here. This settlement goes down to 0.70 m. depth; below this level no further settlement was traced.

Between the citadel and Horis village two chamber tombs had been found by the villagers long ago. Beside these tombs, just at the exit of the village, a terracotta sarcophagus had been found by the villagers and reburied by the headman of the village. Investigations were instituted there, and a sarcophagus 1.98 m. long with two lids was uncovered. It had been robbed and the top broken. In spite of this, the soil inside it was sieved and a silver Cappadocian coin, probably belonging to the first century B.C., and a terracotta lamp came to light. No other sarcophagus was found, in spite of excavations having been done in the surrounding area.

### *IASOS, 1979<sup>1</sup>*

This campaign proved particularly satisfactory, not only with regard to the archaeological discoveries and the preparations for publication, but also in respect of the collaboration with the Turkish Directorate General of Antiquities. In fact a complete project combining archaeology with landscape design, equipped with plants and artists, had been requested from the expedition by the Directorate General, to be submitted to the Commission for Ancient Monuments which is responsible for the care and development of archaeological zones. To this project the architect of the expedition, Elizabetta Fagello, and the representative of the Turkish Ministry of Culture, Miss Emel Örgen, devoted a great part of their time.

#### *Excavation*

The stratigraphical sounding in the centre of the Agora was extended this year on three sides. To the south, under the direction of Miss Emel Örgen, under the beaten floor of the Hellenistic Agora and under a deep fill probably made for the creation of this floor, was brought to light an extension of the Geometrical necropolis, including two tombs of a type not hitherto observed, with lateral walls and transverse roof-slabs. In the level below, a stretch of wall running north-south belongs to a Middle Bronze Age complex and the excavation of this will be continued in the next campaign.

To the east, under the direction of Dr Raffaella Pierobon, under the Hellenistic floor already noted, there was identified among other things a floor of very hard conglomerate of the archaic period, and under this a geometric level with cist tombs and a terracotta sarcophagus and some vases which could be completely reconstructed. In this level contact was made with an extensive pavement which seems to go back to the Mycenaean period and to be connected with a stretch of pavement discovered further west. Among the material from this epoch

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<sup>1</sup> Translated from information kindly provided by Prof. Clelia Laviosa.

should be mentioned a terracotta figurine in the form of a "psi", certainly imported from Greece, a find which up till now is exceptional in Anatolia.

Towards the north, under the direction of Dr Fede Berti, it has, up till now, only been possible to excavate the upper levels, Byzantine and late Roman, because among and above the remains of a basilica of this period, already brought to light the previous year, a dense series of burials was encountered at several levels, requiring careful excavation and documentation. Only exceptionally did these burials still possess any grave-goods, in particular globe-earrings which, it is hoped, may make it possible to date these tombs. In the pavement of the basilica there were some re-used blocks of an earlier edifice, probably Hellenistic, one of which carries an important complete inscription now being studied.

In the area between the Agora and the shrine of Artemis Astias it has not been possible to complete the excavation of the large building thought to be the temple of Apollo, whose stephanephoros was the eponymous priest of the city, because it has till now been impossible to obtain the expropriation of the piece of land; instead work continued on the documentation and other relevant matters.

However, one operation which had been in progress for some time was completed, namely the clearance of the stylobate of the East portico of the Agora, under the direction of architect Pagello, who completed its reconstruction on paper, by bringing to light the last column-bases and the columns, the architraves and the pediment-blocks which had fallen in the adjacent terrain. Also in this area were made many observations and discoveries, among them inscriptions, of varying provenience.

#### *Restoration and Study*

Another piece of work that was completed this year was the conservation and study of some 3,000 bronze and silver coins found since the beginning of the dig. The cataloguing occupied the numismatist of the expedition through three consecutive campaigns. At the end, the coins, collected in albums, were consigned to the Museum at Izmir, where are already conserved those of the hoard of silver coins found in 1968.

The restoration and study of other classes of material and that of the mosaics proceeded concurrently. These occupied the restorer Ali Caravella and two Turkish conservators for long periods of the summer outside the actual excavations.

#### *ISTANBUL, 1979<sup>1</sup>*

In the St. John's Church of Stoudios, in collaboration with the Ayasofya Museum, soundings were carried out (1) at the east and west ends of the southern side-aisle and in the south-east corner of the northern side-aisle, (2) in the former atrium, and (3) outside to the south of the narthex.

1. The east side and the stylobate of the church have a substructure about 2.5 m. high, of limestone blocks which probably come from a classical building in the vicinity, possibly a watch tower.

The erection of the church followed on the demolition of an older building, perhaps a dwelling house, the remains of the foundation wall of which were

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<sup>1</sup> Translated from information kindly supplied by Dr Anneliese Peschlow.

found beneath the southern side-aisle. To this building may perhaps be ascribed the remains of a fresco which also came to light there, having three layers of paint. The two upper layers show plant motives on a white background.

In conjunction with the substructure of the church a water channel was laid out, with openings constructed for it in the west wall and at the east end of the south wall. It was certainly intended to bring water to the cistern nearby to the south. But since neither its walls nor the points of juncture were made water-tight with hydraulic plaster, it was probably never actually used.

2. In order to discover the size of the atrium, soundings were made for its western termination. As foundations, the rear wall of the western stoa and further west a wall running obliquely to it towards the south-west prove to have served, the latter certainly the western outer wall of the church complex. The inner courtyard can be reconstructed accordingly as a long rectangle. The oblique line of the outer wall may have been conditioned by the street, possibly the Mese running to the Golden Gate.

3. The sounding outside to the south of the narthex was intended to establish the dimensions of the former staircase-tower. Its southern limits were determined.

#### *KALEKÖY, 1979<sup>1</sup>*

Kaleköy is a village of the district Baskil which is in the province of Elazığ. It is 108 km. west of Elazığ and on the east bank of the Euphrates. The fortress that we are investigating is built on a 1,600 m. long rocky hill which runs parallel to the river (north—south direction). The settlement area is on the west side of the hill and on a 55% slope.

Investigations at Kaleköy had been started in 1978 by surface exploration and topographical work. These activities were undertaken as an essential preliminary for the works to be done in the future. In the light of this preliminary work we have conducted our operations in August and September 1979. The excavations conducted under the direction of Tomris Bakır and Altan Çilingiroğlu, have been carried on in three main areas.

##### *1. Area with the Niches (Trench L19)*

During our field work in 1978 it was seen that the area in front of the rock-carved niches had been dug by the villagers. In 1979 before we started the dig the damage had been much increased. Later on when the top soil had been removed here, some scattered oven stones which do not give a proper plan were found just under 0.20–0.30 m. below the surface. Inside this layer a big quantity of medieval pottery was also found. When the bed rock, on which the niches had been carved, was dug some rock-carved platforms were found. Probably these platforms, which extended from south to north, had been carved at the same time as the niches. As the dig progressed, the existence of a chapel, which was formed by using the main niche on the rock mass as an apse, has been determined. The floor of the chapel, extending 2.80 m. to the west of the niche, is of beaten earth. On this floor a column base was found *in situ*. Above the floor over the whole area there is a burnt layer, 0.15 m. thick in places. This is above the Byzantine level. It can be seen also in other areas of the fortress. The west side of the

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<sup>1</sup> Translated from a report kindly submitted by Dr Altan Çilingiroğlu.



chapel was completely ruined, the south also to a large extent. 3-50 m. west of the main niche which was used as the apse several skeletons of children were found. The actual number could not be ascertained. These might have been the skeletons of a group of very young children who used this chapel as a shelter during a natural disaster. In the soil that was removed with the medieval material two definite Urartian sherds have been found. These two and some other sherds from the other trenches are isolated and are insufficient evidence for the presence of an Urartian settlement in the fortress.

## 2. *Upper Settlement Area (Trenches L11 and L10)*

We started to excavate the 20 x 20 m. square L11 by dividing it into 5 x 5 m. trenches, as we agreed it was the most likely area for a settlement. However, all our hopes were disappointed right at the start. In all the trenches we reached bed rock at 0.10-0.50 m. depth. Walls which were built on the bed-rock show a very bad quality of workmanship, and do not give a proper plan. In the excavated soil there was a lot of medieval material. The dig here was moved to square L10 which is on the steep hillside that extends to the village. In square L10 through the collapse of the terrace walls all the buildings had slipped down the hill and were completely ruined. However, the existence of two architectural levels was determined here. 0.80 m. below the surface there are traces of a fire. Beneath that fire in trench a4 three pithoi were found. These broken pithoi stand on a floor of beaten earth and were filled with soil. The pottery mostly belongs to the Middle Ages, but a small quantity of Early Bronze Age material has also been found. This very early material was most probably carried here in the soil which was brought from the other side of the fortress for the building of the upper settlements. Except for two iron hoops there are no other small finds.

## 3. *South Entrance (Squares D11, D12 and E12)*

Excavation here was started in the rocky and sloping terrain where we thought the south entrance of the fortress was. We tried to get a result by following the apparent wall traces on the surface. When the top soil had been removed it was seen that the whole area, especially the south slope, had been covered with very small stones. These were the stones which filled the empty spaces between the walls that we were following on the surface. Here two different methods of wall construction were established. One is construction with small stones mixed with lime; the other is that in which stone blocks measuring 0.40-0.50 m. were used. As was known from the 1979 excavations, the top of the walls built of blocks was filled up in Byzantine times so as to form a gate of very simple plan. Walls of the contemporary building had been very badly damaged. Material found belongs to the Middle Ages. A Byzantine coin that was found in the excavation had been badly oxidized and was illegible. As the medieval material was removed, the existence of a corridor extending from south to north with an easy gradient was established. The width of the corridor that we regard as the entrance to the gate building is 2.30 m. 5 m. of it has already been found. The relation between the walls and the buildings to the north of the corridor which were built in the same technique has not yet been ascertained. Among the initial finds, the Iron Age pottery especially leads us to compare the gate building to North Syrian buildings. The north side of the south entrance — the side facing the fortress — had been very badly ruined on account of the collapse of the terrace walls. During our work on the rock mass which borders the entrance on the east and west sides a wall was recovered. Underneath

that wall is a paved floor of stone slabs with two ovens and an ash-pit on it. The north side of this floor was completely demolished. The purpose of this floor has not yet been found. At this point the slope of the hill increases. As the terrace walls fell down the buildings that were constructed behind and above them slid down to the river. The process caused both the ruin of the buildings and the mixing of the materials of different periods. In addition to these bad conditions, the transportation of earth from one place to another for the use of other buildings created great confusion. For instance, just at the top of the hill, amongst material of the upper settlement, Early Bronze and — most probably — Chalcolithic have been found. The material washed down, which was found by the river bank, begins with the Chalcolithic and includes Urartian, Byzantine and Medieval. In spite of this confusion some Byzantine pottery has already been found in its own building phase and was identified very early.

In various parts of the fortress some test trenches were dug to examine the earlier phases, but we have not got good results because bed-rock was reached at 1 m. depth. However, the results of one of the latest test tranches are hopeful for the following seasons.

The 1979 Kaleköy excavations stressed the need to solve two questions: which part of the fortress had been used in different phases, and how to determine the stratigraphy in a single trench. However, the solution of these two problems will prove much more difficult on account of the 55% slope of the hill, the slipping of the earth and its deliberate transportation by the ancient builders.

#### *KARATAŞ-SEMAYÜK AND ELMALI, 1979<sup>1</sup>*

The 1979 season was one of study, recording and conservation. The two painted tomb chambers remain under observation to check the effects of the climate now prevailing in the protective structures and the interaction of the various factors of humidity in the soil of the tumulus, the building blocks and the interior spaces.

The area east of the modern entrance structure at Karaburun has now been terraced and protected by retaining walls and a long built drain. Anciently, flooding threatened the base-monument on the slope of tumulus II; this base now stands in the entrance-building. The fragments of its superstructure, including pieces of an architectural frame, doors and lion(s), were studied and drawn. The architectural recording of the tomb chamber at Karaburun was completed by Robert A. Bridges, Jr.

Work continues on the monographs dealing with the prehistoric material of the earliest phase of habitation in the Bağbaşı area (by Christine Eslick) and the Early Bronze Age houses of megaron plan at Karataş (by Jayne L. Warner). The study of the Early Bronze Age pottery of Karataş is in progress.

#### *KAUNUS, 1979<sup>2</sup>*

Excavations conducted under the direction of Prof. Dr Baki Ögün have been carried on this year at the Agora and the Tholos.

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<sup>1</sup> Information kindly supplied by Prof. Machteld Mellink.

<sup>2</sup> Translated from a report kindly supplied by Dr Seyhan Doruk.

*The Tholos*, which is to be restored this year, was found in 1971 and lies near the ancient harbour that is named Sülüklü Göl today. Restoration has been started in continuation of the work of previous seasons. All of the elements of the building which were in the flooded area have been recovered with great difficulty and carried to a flat place beside that area and grouped. The conical roof, decorated outside with "fish scales" was made of marble blocks, which is quite unusual. As is known from various examples, the roof was normally covered with terracotta tiles and its construction was of wood. All of the friezes and architraves and three of the 16 antefixes have been found. Only a very few broken pieces of the non-fluted columns, which were known to have been 8 in number, and three complete Ionic capitals were found. Eighty percent of the ceiling has been completed by placing side by side the blocks which formed its decoration.

In 1978, three trial trenches had been dug around the Tholos building to determine the stratigraphy. An inscription fragment which was found here has been examined by Prof. Dr Peter Herrmann, who is one of the dig members, and he confirmed the relation of the inscription with the cult of Nike. This inscription, which is dated to the first century B.C., or rather in general to Hellenistic times, might have had a connection with the Tholos building.

*Inside the Agora*, as part of our restoration programme, work has been started to set in its original position an obelisk that is at the east side of the Stoa. This square monument, which has got inscriptions on each face, stands on a 1.20 m. high base. It is 4.5 m. high with its base and ends like a hemisphere at the top. The name Imbros that was one of the quarters of Kaunos is frequently mentioned in the text, which is dated to the Hellenistic period according to the character of the letters. Professor Herrmann made squeezes of this text but it has not yet been read. Our knowledge concerning Kaunos will be greatly extended when the text is read.

*Excavations at the Agora* have been conducted in three areas:

A small trial trench had been dug at the north-east interior corner of the Stoa to examine the structure of the foundations. The foundations go 1.20 m. down into the ground. The pottery that we found informs us that the building dates from the Hellenistic period. Last year, near the centre of the Stoa, excavation of a room which had its entrance behind the building was started. The same work was continued this year and the whole of the room has been recovered. The room, 9.10 m. in width and 13.0 m. in length, — interior measurements — had been joined to the Stoa later on. At the middle of the back wall, there is a base projecting 1.50 m. to the front, 3.10 m. in width and 1.50 m. high. The bottom of this base is moulded and it is faced with marble slabs, most of which had dropped off. There are remnants of plaster on the room walls which had been constructed with pebbles. Inside the marble floored room, just beside the base and at the north-west corner of the room, an altar carved with reliefs had fallen on the floor. Most probably this half cylindrical altar had fallen off the base mentioned above and most of the reliefs had been broken. One male and four female figures were cut on this 1.20 m. high altar. The figure which is carrying the winged Eros might have been Aphrodite and the other one with staff in hand, Poseidon. For the present it is not known what other figures were depicted on it. Coins found on the room floor are dated to the third century A.D. It will be possible to date this altar, which makes a neoclassical impression, from the style after it has been restored.

In the area between the Stoa and the monument bases that were dug last

year four new trenches were excavated. Some late-period wall-remains and a stone paved road at the same level as the monument bases, probably coming from the north to the west of the Agora, have been found.

Also this year some work has been done at the Nymphaion which is to the east of the Agora. The trench partitions left after the previous excavations have been removed and the stone paved road that comes from the east to the Agora partly cleaned. Next year the point where this road joined the Agora is going to be established.

### *KÖŞKerbaba Höyük, 1979<sup>1</sup>*

A second season of rescue excavations at Köşkerbaba Höyük in connection with the M.E.T.U. Lower Euphrates Project was resumed in 1979 from 1st September to 16th October under the direction of Dr Önder Bilgi of the University of Istanbul. The season's work was concentrated on Trench "A" and Trench "B", both initiated during last year. Results obtained from these trenches have revealed that the mound is formed by the accumulation of debris of 5 building levels of different periods to the depth so far excavated.

In Trench "B" the oldest building foundations constructed of small sized stones are seen to be laid on one of the gravel heaps accumulated at the meander points of the Euphrates River itself. This oldest cultural layer of the Trench "B" seems to date from the Early Bronze Age III according to the pottery sherds recovered. These sherds, which also include painted examples, have parallels on the one hand in the Malatya Region at Arslan Tepe, and on the other hand in the Elazığ-Keban area at Şemsiye Tepe, Nerşun Tepe, Tepecik, Han İbrahim Şah, Değirmen Tepe, Yeniköy Höyük etc. On top of this building level, two other superimposed stone foundations, which both date from the Roman Period judging by the collected pottery sherds, were unearthed.

Trench "A", which is on top of the mound, was enlarged to 375 m<sup>2</sup> by adding 13 new grid-squares of 5 x 5 m. A detailed investigation of the Roman cultural layer has shown that this period at the mound is represented by 2 building levels of different age, as attested in Trench "B". The older building level occupies a larger area than the later one, although both of them consist of an observation- or a corresponding tower with living quarters for a garrison, all enclosed by a fortification.

In the re-excavated squares, L12 and L13, a new and unexpected cultural layer has come to light between the older Roman building level and the Early Bronze Age III layer, which was unearthed last year. This new cultural layer at the moment contains 3 rows of pithoi in a regular order, reminiscent of those found at the Urartian centres in Eastern Anatolia. This layer, the existence of which has not been observed in Trench "B", contains pottery and other small finds of unexpected quality. Among the pottery shapes pilgrim flasks and askoi of the seventh century B.C. are the best examples, which are also to be seen in painted decoration. As yet the architectural remains of this new cultural layer have not been traced because of the Roman stone pavement, except in square L11. Actually, part of a stone foundation, partly unearthed last year in this square, belongs to this layer and represents most probably the stone foundation of the north-west wall of the room with pithoi in rows. To remove

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<sup>1</sup> Report kindly supplied by Assoc. Prof. Dr Önder Bilgi.

the Roman stone pavement and then to determine the boundaries of the Urartian cultural layer will be the main task to be carried out in next year's excavations at Köşkerbaba Höyük.

### *KURUÇAY, 1979<sup>1</sup>*

Kuruçay Höyük lies about 15 km. south of Burdur. The excavations had been started by the University of Istanbul in 1978 and were carried on in 1979 during August and September. Some new trenches were added to the south and west of the area which had been dug in the second season of 1978, so that the whole excavation was extended to 700 sq. m.

In accordance with the stratigraphical position established last year, in 1979 Early Bronze II and I have been found in the layers going down to 1.60 m. depth. Underneath these 3-phased occupation levels there is a thick layer of Late Chalcolithic down to -4.25 m. The Late Chalcolithic settlements, which were composed of three architectural layers (4, 5, 6a and 6b), have been excavated in large areas and many buildings were uncovered. The houses were generally made of mud brick from the foundations to the roof (more rarely foundations consisting of a single course of stones have also been found) and all were arranged in groups around courtyards. There is no doubt that the thicker exterior walls were built for defence. Each house consists of a single room, 8.50 x 7.0 m. in size. Sometimes in one corner a round oven was placed, and in front of these ovens, just at the centre of the room, is a mud-brick wall in the shape of a stele, 1.0-1.5 m. in length and 0.35-0.40 m. in width. On the floor in front of these stelae (the real height of which could not be ascertained) there are burnt areas. Inside the Late Chalcolithic layers pottery which is quite different from the Early Bronze Age material has been found. The greater portion of these sherds were made of greyish-black clay and were sometimes burnished and brittle-fired. Pot forms are quite different from the well-known forms of Anatolia. One-handed cups, mugs, and carinated pots are the most common types. Although strip lugs were most common, on some of the big pots is seen a huge handle just opposite the usual lug. One of those pots had two large handles on opposite sides and above one of them was a lug. On some of the two-handed small pots just at the connexion point of the handle to the rim a hole was made and on another one two holes were made at the connexion points of the handle both to the rim and to the belly.

The pottery of the second group of the Late Chalcolithic period was made of red clay, well burnished and quite good in quality. Carinated forms are the most common. These are also the ones which used both large handles and lugs.

Beycesultan is the only site with which we can compare the Late Chalcolithic settlement of Kuruçay Höyük. The burnt spots at the middle of the rooms and the stele-like walls of Kuruçay Höyük can probably also be seen at Beycesultan levels XXI a and b (Beycesultan I, fig. 5, pl. IIIa). Pots resembling the one-handed mugs of Kuruçay can also be found at Beycesultan XX-XL (ibid., fig. P.3/3.5; 4/27; 30; 10/14). But there are no examples at Kuruçay of white painted ornament such as can sometimes be seen at Beycesultan. It is thought that the Late Chalcolithic layers of Kuruçay are earlier than those of

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<sup>1</sup> Translated from a report kindly provided by Prof. Dr Refik Duru.

Beycesultan because of the difference in the pot forms, the absence of white painting, and also for some other reasons.

Just underneath the Late Chalcolithic levels a thick burnt layer was discovered. In this burnt layer a building was found which has 1.0 m. wide mud-brick walls and a wall with buttress-like projections at regular intervals. The thousands of painted sherds which were found in this building — which is entirely different in plan and construction from the buildings of the Late Chalcolithic — show that the settlement is Early Chalcolithic. Painted sherds resemble the sherds from Hacilar I. Also the buttress-building is very similar to the architecture of Hacilar I. This 7th building level is the oldest occupation layer that we have reached in 1979 and is undoubtedly contemporary with Hacilar I.

The most important point that was confirmed during the second season at Kuruçay is that the Late Chalcolithic immediately follows the Early Chalcolithic without a break. The phase that fills the gap between Hacilar I and Beycesultan XL is probably the Late Chalcolithic of Kuruçay.

The deepest point that was reached in 1979 is -5.50 m. If the probable height of the mound is guessed as 11 metres, it can be assumed that the unexcavated layers will yield building phases earlier than the Early Chalcolithic. The Hacilar V-II painted sherds which were previously picked up on the surface make the presence of the Early Chalcolithic period on our mound more certain. Apart from these, some sherds which were mixed in the upper levels show the existence of Early Neolithic at Kuruçay. Especially a pressure-flaked arrowhead shaped like a willow leaf shows great similarity to the Early Neolithic industry of the Konya plain and Çukurova. This unique piece is the first evidence to show the relationship between the Neolithic cultures of Burdur area and the cultural environment of Çatalhöyük.

### *LIDAR HÖYÜK, 1979<sup>1</sup>*

The first campaign of excavations at Lidar Höyük in the district of Bozova, Urfa province, was carried out by the Institute of Near Eastern Archaeology, Free University of Berlin, within the framework of the "Lower Euphrates Salvage Project" initiated by the Middle East Technical University at Ankara, from 31st August to 26th November, 1979. This large mound lies on a branch of the Euphrates and covers a surface measuring c. 200 x 240 m. Terraces of occupation debris stretch to north-east and south-west along the bank of the Euphrates. On the north-eastern terrace lies the village of Lidar (Dikili). The occupation strata are about 25 m. deep and extend from the Late Chalcolithic into the Middle Ages (thirteenth century). The great mound with its deep accumulations of the Early Bronze Age rests upon a flat hill with remains of the Uruk culture. The settlement reached its greatest extension in the period Akkad/Ur III.

The excavations were concentrated on the plateau of the mound, measuring c. 120 x 150 m. In a southeast-northeast direction a chain of 10 squares, each 10 x 10 m., were laid out, and on the western side facing the Euphrates sections of 2 or 5 squares were opened up, to prepare for the step trenches on the slope planned for the forthcoming campaign. In all sections remains of the Middle Ages were encountered, which can be divided into two levels. In the upper level

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<sup>1</sup> Translated from information kindly provided by Dr Harald Hauptmann.

I, which had been much disturbed by quarrying, at least three phases can be recognized (Ia–c), in level II about 6. Whilst levels Ic and IIa1 show only slight traces of burning, settlements IIb and IIc perished in a violent conflagration. Horizon I gives a fairly clear picture in all areas. The buildings have stone foundations 0.40–0.70 m. in width, with superstructure of mudbrick, and on the south of the plateau they are oriented from north-north-west to south-south-east, while those in the north and west are slightly turned to a north-north-east to south-south-west direction. The buildings descend in terraces from east to west, and there is a network of streets connecting the various quarters. One street runs along the inner side of the row of houses facing the western slope and connects with a path leading up from a spring by the north-eastern slope. This street is 2.30–3.20 m. wide and has a gravel surface. It is joined by another road from the higher western part. The buildings fall into different groups which can be distinguished by their method of construction and their inventory. The settlement was surrounded by a fortification wall, of which remains of a 1.80 m. wide mudbrick wall together with a wall of limestone blocks on the southern slope were found. Against this fortification wall was built a large house consisting of 5 groups of rooms and with a surface of 15–20 m. In the adjacent trenches, separated by a street, a homestead of 8 × 5 m. was uncovered, and next to this a complex of several rooms, 10 m. long and 9.40 m. wide, with a porch carried by two roof-supports. Behind this follows another homestead much disturbed by a modern cemetery. In the north-east two buildings have a different character from the rustic homesteads in the south-east. One consists of two long rooms with internal supports and possesses in the eastern room a hearth decorated with scalloped geometrical and cross patterns. Right against the edge of the slope stood an ornate building measuring 6.80 × 8.00 m., having stone bases for roof supports arranged in a square, and paved with stone slabs. In the western part of the plateau two more houses were excavated, one of which is 7.50 m. long and 4.20 m. wide and has 1 m. high stone foundations on account of the terracing. Most houses contain baking ovens consisting of rolls of clay piled up in the shape of a dome, round or rectangular grain bins and hearths for cooking such as are known from the Islamic settlement at Aslantepe. A round furnace with ventilation, by which pieces of iron slag were found, seems to indicate metallurgical activities.

The pottery from these levels can be divided into at least 8 categories. Beside bright-coloured wares there is a characteristic kitchen ware with a metallic ring. One main type, which continues a late Roman or Byzantine ceramic tradition, consists of bottles, high amphorae and bowls with a deep red slip. Related to this is a painted ware, red on buff. Among decorated ware the "sgraffito" pottery is noteworthy, as well as various kinds of glazed luxury ware, e.g. lustre ware and fayence. There are innumerable fragments of glass vases and armlets. Iron tools, knives, daggers and arrowheads are numerous. Of bronze there were ornaments, trappings, and two bowls. The Islamic coins found in these levels serve to date them to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

From the buildings and other finds one gets the impression of a socially differentiated community of regional significance, beside the Seljuk principality of Samsat, and this is confirmed by Mathew of Edessa, according to whom the fortress Ltar (Ldar) played a part in the eleventh century in the struggles between the Byzantine empire and the Arabs.

*XANTHOS AND LETOON, 1979*<sup>1</sup>

In 1979 the French Archaeological Mission at Xanthos and the Letoon was able to conduct simultaneously a campaign of excavation on the site of the Letoon, survey and restoration work at Xanthos, and a series of studies and restorations in the Antalya Museum. Mention must also be made of the publication of Tome VI of *Fouilles de Xanthos*, by H. Metzger, E. Laroche, A. Dupont-Sommer and M. Mayrhofer, *La Stèle trilingue du Létoon*.

*I. Xanthos*

Restoration work was undertaken for the protection of the frescoes and mosaics discovered in the Byzantine basilica now being excavated. Seventeen fragments of figures found in the narthex of the tetraconchos were laid down. Though they are badly damaged, figures of bishops and deacons can be recognized. The ensemble dates from the eleventh century A.D.

In the course of this work, a stone carrying a fragmentary Lycian inscription was extracted from the wall where it had been re-used and the inscription is published by Laroche (*Xanthos* VI, pl. XV). It was then revealed that it carried on its reverse a Greek inscription, equally mutilated, and we thus have a fragment of a new bilingual inscription of the classical period (probably fourth century A.D.). It could be a legal text.

*II. Letoon*

(a) *Geomorphological study of the site.* A team of geomorphologists studied the geological history of the lower valley of the River Xanthus, the changes of level of the land and the sea in the historic period, and the ancient quarries from which the materials used in the construction of Xanthos and the Letoon were extracted. Their conclusions are important for the history of the site, for the techniques to be used in the excavations and for the restoration projects.

(b) *Study of the Temple of Leto.* The work of arranging and classifying the blocks which belonged to the temple of Leto continued. A sounding at the south-eastern corner of the temple brought to light some foundations and showed how the rock had been adapted to receive them.

(c) *Building E.* This building, the smallest of the three which occupied the rocky terrace situated in the middle of the sanctuary, was cleared of the architectural blocks fallen from the temple of Leto, which largely covered it. It was then seen that its centre consisted of a core of natural rock completed and reinforced by enormous rough limestone blocks extracted from the neighbouring hillside. This kernel had then been "dressed" by blocks of finer white limestone, cut and assembled with great care. There was no colonnade except perhaps at the front. Instead of a temple of Artemis, as one had supposed it to be on the strength of a dedication to that goddess found near the south-east corner of the building, we are wondering whether we have here rather a monumental altar, similar to several others known from the Hellenistic period.

(d) *Sacred Way.* The paved road which, coming from the west, led to the foot of the ramp of access to the temple of Leto, was cleared over a length of 20 m. to a width of 8 m. It dates from the Hellenistic epoch, but was modified at the time of the erection of the imperial Nymphaeum in the reign of Hadrian. More

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<sup>1</sup> Translated from information kindly provided by Prof. Henri Metzger.



than fifty inscriptions or fragments of inscriptions were recovered in the destruction layer above the pavement. Most of these date from the second century A.D. They yield precious information about the institutions of Xanthos and on the officials who exercised responsibility in the administration of the city, in particular the family of the Veranii.

(e) *Refurbishing of the site.* The zone to the east or north-east of the basilica recently excavated by M. Harrison was cleared down to the early Christian level. A retaining wall was discovered, marking the limit of the sanctuary in this sector. This wall forms a right angle with that recorded and photographed by O. Benndorf at the end of the last century, which still exists.

### III. *Work in the Antalya Museum*

In 1975 and 1976 M. H. Metzger had discovered, in the sector north of the Letoon, more than 500 fragments of sculptured marble which had been burned and then crushed before being re-used in the bank of a Roman wall. These were all deposited in the Antalya Museum and were studied by M. J. Marcadé. Four large statues were reconstituted and erected; the reconstruction of a fifth is well advanced. There are three draped female statues, the largest of which, 2.57 m. high, could be the effigy of a queen. The other two stand to more than 2 m. and are of the type *pudicitia*. The remaining two statues are male. One, of a height of more than 2.40 m., must certainly have been associated with the large feminine statue.

A supplementary sounding conducted in 1979 at the Letoon resulted in the finding of more than 300 new fragments belonging to the same ensemble. All are from the late Hellenistic period, which had hitherto been very poorly represented in the sculpture of Lycia and Pamphylia. The iconographic formulae, the technique and the stylistic details are thus unique of their kind and have revealed a new *atelier*.